DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 177 905 FL 010 744

AUTHOR Verdoodt, Albert
TITLE Linguistic Tensions in Canadian and Belgian Labor Unions: A Comparative Analysis Based on the Interrelationship between Pursued Objectives and the Accompanying Organizational Structure.
INSTITUTION Laval Univ., Quebec (Quebec). International Center for Research on Bilingualism.
PUB DATE 77
NOTE 51p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Dutch; English; French; *Industrial Relations; *Labor Problems; *Labor Unions; *Language Attitudes; *Language Role; Social Science Research; Sociolinguistics
IDENTIFIERS *Belgians; Belgium; Canada (French Provinces); *Canadians; Flemings; Walloons

ABSTRACT

The relationships between language groups in labor unions in Canada and Belgium are examined. Details of the labor movement in the two countries and characteristics of specific unions are discussed. It is concluded that, while the situation between French and Dutch speakers in Belgian unions appears stable, linguistic relations between French and English speakers in Canadian unions are characterized by a high degree of instability and tension. (JB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED177905

centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme

publication
B-65

LINGUISTIC TENSIONS IN CANADIAN AND BELGIAN LABOR UNIONS.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
ICRB—
A. Prujiner
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

FL010744

Albert Verroodt

1977

CIRB
ICRB

Albert Verdoodt

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BASED ON THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PURSUED OBJECTIVES AND THE ACCOMPANYING ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Publication B-65

1977
Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme
International Center for Research on Bilingualism
Québec

Le Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme est un organisme de recherche universitaire qui reçoit des subventions de soutien du Ministère de l'éducation du Québec et du Secrétariat d'Etat du Canada.

© 1977 CENTRE INTERNATIONAL DE RECHERCHE SUR LE BILINGUISME
Tous droits réservés. Imprimé au Canada
Dépôt légal (Québec): 1er trimestre 1977

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Pages
PREFACE		
I.	INTRODUCTION.	1
	A. Objective of this Report	1
	B. Methodology.	1
	C. Theory	4
II.	THE STRUCTURE OF THE CANADIAN LABOR UNION MOVEMENT AND A REVIEW OF FRENCH/ENGLISH RELATIONS, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO QUEBEC.	4
	A. Structure.	4
	B. French-English relations in the Canadian Labor union movement with a focus on Quebec	5
III.	THE STRUCTUPE OF THE BELGIAN LABOR UNION MOVEMENT AND A REVIEW OF FRENCH/DUTCH RELATIONS.	19
	A. Structure.	19
	B. French/Dutch Relations in Belgian Labor Unions	22
IV.	CONCLUSIONS	36
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.	43

PREFACE

Any work is never the work of one person. Of all those - and they are many - to whom we owe acknowledgement for their help in preparing this analysis, none deserves it more than Miss Karen Horan of the "School for International Training" (Brattleboro, Vermont, U.S.A.), presently doing her internship in Belgium. She has given us invaluable help in editing this report. While we have had to guide and revise her text, it is to her merit that the results of our Belgian and Canadian surveys have been collated into one study, and a series of conclusions proposed.

We also wish to thank Mrs. Madeleine Lesage-Rochon (Canada) and Graciella Laurent-Reynoso (Mexico), as well as Mr. Jean-Luc Liénart (Belgium) who assisted us in the realization of our investigations in Belgium from 1971 to 1975, on the basis of questionnaires we composed. The reader will note that our personal survey in Canada dates from 1970.

Besides these four persons, we also have the pleasure of thanking the Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme (International Center for Research on Bilingualism) of Laval University in Quebec, as well as the Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique (National Fund for Scientific Research) in Brussels, which have supported us financially.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all Belgian and Canadian union members who were so kind to receive us and talk to us. Among union leaders whose help was most crucial in the correction of this final version of our analysis were Mr. J.M. Hudon (F.T.Q.), Mich. B. Hertoss (CSC), Mr. H. Ceuppens (F.G.T.B.), and Mr. A. Poty (C.G.S.L.B.).

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Objective of this Report

While any given population is governed under one political system, that population is most likely to be composed of groups which can be distinguished from one another on the basis of linguistic factors. Thus, to say, "He is Canadian", or "She is Belgian", merely defines an individual's citizenship without identifying which language(s) he or she may speak. However, both Canada and Belgium are officially bilingual countries, meaning that within each there are at least two populations speaking two different languages: English and French in Canada; Dutch and French in Belgium. Any inquiry into either of these two societies will reveal the presence of tension or conflict based on linguistic factors. This is true, not only for the society as a whole, but also for any of the various institutions and associations found within the society. As Meisel and Lemieux stated in their book *Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations*, "Certain types of clashing or converging interests and the anatomy of certain types of conflict appear in sharp relief when viewed within the context of a reasonably well defined organization." (p. 8)

In both Belgium and Canada, one such association, in which relations between linguistic groups have been observed is that of the labor union movement. The results of these inquiries serve as the basis of this report. By comparing the language conflict situation of two different societies within the context of the same association, we hope to determine what provokes language conflict within an organization and what measures are employed to avoid or solve such conflict.

B. Methodology

In response to ever increasing tensions between French and English speaking Canadians, the Canadian Government formed a Commission to fully investigate the nature of relations between these two groups. One such aspect of Canadian society which was put under scrutiny was that of Canadian Voluntary Associations. It has been said that such *associations* are formed "when people recognize a like, complementary or common interest sufficiently enduring and sufficiently distinct to be capable of more effective promotion through collective action, *provided their differences are not so strong as to prevent the partial agreement involved in its formation.*" (MacIver and Page in Meisel and Lemieux, pp. 3 & 4). Proceeding with this rationale and the assumption that it is advantageous for different linguistic groups to associate with each other, Meisel and Lemieux developed a method for investigating voluntary associations based on the interrelationship between the objectives pursued by an organization and its corresponding structure. Moreover, they consider here the term organization as synonymous with the term association (as defined above).

Concerning the objectives of an association, they stated that "although linked by common interests or objectives, the members of two ethnic groups are very likely not to agree on the content of these objectives, the desirability to pursue certain ones in common (together) or in their hierarchy." (p. 10) To test this assumption, they distinguished four types of objectives falling into two categories: *internal objectives* - meaning those of particular concern only to the members; and *external objectives* - meaning those

which deal more with the role of the organization in the society. In more specific terms, these objectives are (note that 1 through 3 are considered "internal"):

1. *recreational objectives:* This refers to the social benefits to be obtained from membership to an organization.
2. *utilitarian objectives:* These objectives deal with the various services and advantages offered to members, i.e. those which secure the members material well-being.
3. *educational objectives:* This refers to the various instructional services offered by the organization, such as publications and educational sessions.
4. *external objectives:* These objectives may be ideological or political in nature. For the purpose of this report, only external political objectives will be considered.

These four types of objectives are pursued within an organization whose social structure can be distinguished in four levels or systems of relations, as follows:

1. *communication:* The language used in the transmission of messages among equals, i.e. members at the same level of the organization - horizontal in nature.
2. *coordination:* The transmission of orders and directives as well as the activities of the agencies within an organization dealing with this function. Refers to verticle communication within a hierarchical structure.
3. *representation:* The number of representatives of each linguistic group holding a position of direction within the organization, as well as the relative influence and degree of representation of each linguistic group.
4. *association:* The overall integration of the various linguistic groups within the organization.

Using this methodology, Meisel and Lemieux maintained that the quality of relations between linguistic groups in an organization "depends on the objectives of the organization; these relations - whether they are marked by cooperation or conflict - can be observed at different structural levels which are not mutually exclusive. . . and whose importance is functionally linked to the pursued objectives." (p. 12)

The relationship between these two aspects of an organization can be represented schematically by the following (Verdoodt, p. 7):

Figure I.

Objectives	Quantity of relations between the linguistic groups that the objectives involve	Structural levels where conflict generally arises
recreational	small	communication association
utilitarian	large	communication
educational	small	communication coordination association
external non-political	large	-----
political	large	communication coordination representation association

Although the above method was designed in order to examine intergroup relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations, Albert Verdoodt extended it to survey such relations in Quebec labor unions as well.[1]

In his work *Les relations entre anglophones et francophones dans les syndicats Québécois*, Verdoodt focused on three essential points based on the above method (pp. 7 & 8):

1. What types of structural relations need to be established between the linguistic groups so that they are congruent with the pursued objectives?
2. How are flexible structural relations between the linguistic groups established so that they can be modified when the objectives of one of the two linguistic groups change?
3. When a problem exists at an inferior structural level, it is generally necessary to find its solution at a superior level.

In as much as the answers to these three questions will ultimately reveal the major sources of linguistic conflict in labor unions, as well as solutions for avoiding such conflict, they will thus serve as the framework for this study.

It is hoped that by evaluating Canadian and Belgian labor unions according to the same criteria we will then be able to make some general, nonetheless important, conclusions, regarding the nature of organizational linguistic conflict. Hence, this report will begin by first giving a brief description of the structure of Canadian labor unions, followed by the answers to the above questions. The same procedure will then be used for the Belgian labor unions. Finally, based on the evidence presented, the conclusion to this work will aim to present what appear to be recurring causes as well as solutions for organizational linguistic conflict.

C. Theory

After several years of observing the described phenomena, we continue to search for a sociological theory that could account for the complexity and the diversity of the problems. We were obliged to accept, for the time being, a theory of the middle range, i.e., a body of propositions which serve to map out the social relations, to clarify, and analyse them into relevant units. In a sense, this inquiry can be said to still aim at a more general and elaborated theory.

II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE CANADIAN LABOR UNION MOVEMENT AND A REVIEW OF FRENCH/ENGLISH RELATIONS, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO QUEBEC.

A. Structure

In discussing the structure of the Canadian labor union movement, it is important to acknowledge the influence which American legislation has had in Canada. In 1935 the United States Congress enacted the Wagner Act which stipulated that in order for an union to be certified within an enterprise, there must be a 50% plus 1 majority of workers favoring union representation for any one particular union. In addition, the Wagner Act and subsequent legislation have created in the U.S.A. "the implantation (of the union) in the enterprise, protection of the individual worker by grief and seniority clauses, unionism by check-off (dues are withheld from the workers' salaries) and pattern-bargaining for an entire company, and in some cases, an entire industry." (Gérin-Lajoie in Verdoodt, p. 98). These same principles have served as guidelines for Canada's labor unions as well.*

With "the local" as the base unit of structure, Canada's unions are organized nationally in two central bodies: the Canadian Labor Congress (C.L.C.), and the Confederation of National Trade Unions (C.N.T.U.). In addition, there are a limited number of independent international unions as well as a small number of locals which are affiliated with the AFL-CIO in the United States, but not with the C.L.C. (see Figure II).

The C.N.T.U., while capable of functioning on a national level, is concentrated mainly in the province of Quebec with membership being almost entirely francophone. Hence, linguistic tensions are not of prime importance for this organization. For this reason, it was not focused on by Verdoodt in his survey on linguistic tensions in Canadian labor unions. It is mentioned here to give the reader an accurate description of the structure of Canada's labor unions. It is also important to be

* In 1973, through scission with the CSN (Centrale des syndicats nationaux), a new syndicate was born, the CSD (Centrale des syndicats démocratiques).

aware of its presence in the Province of Quebec; while internally it may be relatively free of linguistic tensions, its strength in Quebec has had disturbing yet stimulating implications for the C.L.C. and its affiliates in that province.

The C.L.C. is composed of 94 international unions (unions with headquaters outside of Canada - principally in the United States) and 22 national or regional unions. With its headquarters in Ottawa, the C.L.C. is administered by an executive board (30 in all) who are elected by representatives from the locals at the Congress which is held every two years. On a provincial basis, the C.L.C. sponsors a federation in each of the ten provinces to deal with legislative matters concerning work relations which are handled by the provincial governments. In Quebec, this branch of the C.L.C. is known as the Quebec Federation of Labor (Q.F.L.). Theoretically, it is obligatory for all locals to be affiliated with the provincial federation; however, although a majority of locals are affiliated, only a small number have statutes which require such affiliation. Within each province, there are also regional bureaus as well as labor councils, the latter being composed of "the locals of international and pan-Canadian unions of a given town." (Verdoodt, p. 23).

B. French-English relations in the Canadian labor movement with a focus on Quebec.

Given this brief description of the general structure of the labor movement in Canada, it is now time to see how this structure has been affected by the presence of two linguistic groups. In his work, Verdoodt focused on intergroup relations in Quebec unions with respect to four elements of the Canadian labor union movement: the C.L.C., the Q.F.L., fourteen large unions, and eleven smaller unions (the latter two being classified according to Quebec membership). The question may be asked: Why focus on the Province of Quebec? The answer being: It is in Quebec, due to the numerical majority of the French population and certain historical factors, that tensions between French and English Canadians not only originate, but are also the most intense. It should not, however, be assumed that intergroup conflict is restricted only to Quebec. Indeed, as will be illustrated by this summary, the situation has serious implications for the entire Canadian labor union movement.

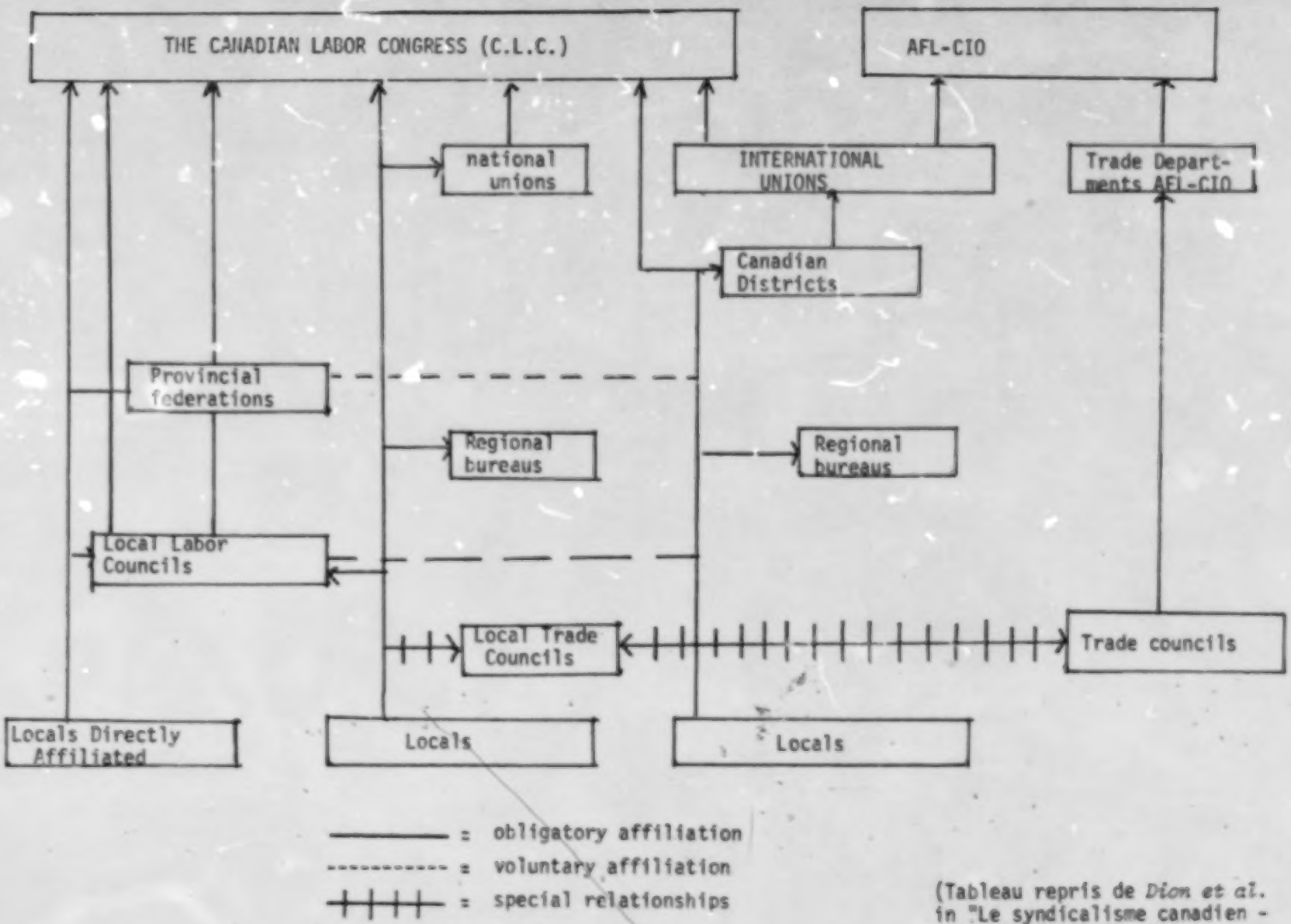
It is now appropriate to see what these implications are by carefully examining each aspect of the Canadian labor union movement in terms of the three essential points highlighted in the introduction:

1. What types of structural relations need to be established between the linguistic groups so that they are congruent with the pursued objectives?

A. The C.L.C.

Given that *utilitarian, educational* and *external objectives* are of prime concern for Labor unions, it is important to realize that, for the C.L.C., "the pursuit of these objectives depends on the various services offered by the C.L.C., i.e. organization (efforts to acquire new members), legislation, education, research, international affairs, public servants, provincial federations, labor councils, political education, exterior relations, the monthly magazine: "Canadian Labor", graphic arts (of the

Figure II: Structure of the Canadian Labor Union Movement under the Canadian Labor Congress



(Tableau repris de *Dion et al.* in "Le syndicalisme canadien - une réévaluation", Presse de l'Université Louvain, 1968)

documents), and union labels." (Verdoodt, p. 20) Therefore, the types of structural relations formed in administering these services must satisfy the needs of both linguistic groups if the overall objectives are to be successfully pursued.

If we consult Figure I (see Introduction), it can be seen that *utilitarian objectives* are most likely to cause conflict at the level of *communication*. This can be better understood if one considers that, at the time of Verdoodt's survey, the elected directors of the C.L.C. were almost entirely anglophone unilinguals. The executive council consisted of: the president, the secretary-treasurer, two executive vice-presidents, six general vice-presidents, 10 provincial vice-presidents, and ten vice-presidents ex-officio. Of these thirty positions; only four were held by francophones: 1 executive vice-president, 1 general vice-president, 1 provincial vice-president, and 1 vice-president ex officio, and none of these positions had the influence of the president or the secretary-treasurer. (Verdoodt, pp. 19 & 20)

In the same way, the services provided by the C.L.C. mentioned above lacked francophone representation. For example, there were only five francophones acting as deputy directors, two of which were in the same service (namely, organization). However, on the regional level, in Montreal, these services were handled by a bureau composed of eight bilingual francophones. With such a heavy concentration of unilingual anglophones it is not surprising that problems of *communication*, at least orally, would arise in pursuing *utilitarian objectives*, which are of special interest to all union members. Tension, creating conflict, was produced in a variety of ways. For example, letters sent to the C.L.C. would be answered in either French or English; however, a letter written in French may not receive immediate attention because very few Directors in the C.L.C. are bilingual.

It should be understood, however, that the C.L.C. does not totally neglect its francophone minority in Quebec. At the C.L.C. Congress held every two years, only 20% of the delegates are francophones. Nonetheless, simultaneous translation is provided for full assembly meetings but not for committee meetings. For these, bilingual reports are published suggesting that these committees have members of both linguistic groups on them (Verdoodt, p. 21). Measures are also taken to publish "circulars and official position papers in both languages. The journal "Canadian Labor", with a smaller sub-title "Le Travailleur Canadien", is 65% English and 35% French, with all important articles in two languages.*

For *educational objectives*, it can be seen from Figure I that conflict is generally produced at the levels of *communication, coordination association*. In as much as these objectives aim to instruct members, it is essential that the language of *communication* be understood by all. For this reason, these objectives involve few relations between the groups. The C.L.C. has had to recognize that *educational objectives* are best pursued by the two linguistic groups separately rather than collectively. This has resulted in partial decentralization of educational services giving the Quebec provincial federation (Q.F.L.) more of a voice in the determination and design of educational services. Without such decentralization, the fact that the C.L.C. is dominated by anglophones would lead to conflict when dealing with francophone Quebec.

As for *external political objectives*, conflict tends to be produced at all levels (Figure I). This area is most crucial for the union. The C.L.C. was not particularly sensitive to the needs of Quebec francophones. Perhaps

* Journal devenu totalement bilingue depuis 1970.

the best illustration of this is the tension between the C.L.C. and the Q.F.L. over the *Labor Councils* in Quebec. These Councils are chartered directly by the C.L.C. and are composed of union locals in a given town. These councils play an important role, not only in representing the union member in the community but also in enhancing the economic development of that particular region.

In Quebec, these Councils are very often in competition with similar councils belonging to the C.N.T.U. Problems arise because the C.L.C. gives its Councils only the fees payed on a voluntary basis by the locals of the region. In contrast, the C.N.T.U. supplies its councils with whatever it feels is necessary, either in terms of financial or human resources, to assure their effective functioning. To defend its position, the C.L.C. claims that it cannot give more aid to the Quebec Councils than to those of the other provinces. This forced the Quebec Councils to seek help from the Q.F.L.; however, the structure of the Q.F.L. (and especially its relationship with the C.L.C.) did not permit it to give financial assistance to the Councils. Moreover, the Government of Quebec decided to divide the province into ten economic regions, increasing the pressure which the Councils put on the Q.F.L. The question was raised as to who would support the *Labor Councils* in these regions, if not the Q.F.L.? In order for this to happen, however, the C.L.C. would have to alter its relationship with the Q.F.L.

Much of the conflict arising from the pursuit of *external objectives* stems from the lack of francophones at the level of *representation*. Without having francophones in a position to make decisions, *communication* and *coordination* break down and jeopardize the overall *association* of both linguistic groups in one organization.

B. The Q.F.L.

Being the provincial federation of the C.L.C. with the largest francophone membership, it can be expected that interaction between the linguistic groups will demand special consideration, first vis. a vis. the internal structure and functions of the organization and second, in terms of its relationship with the C.L.C. and its external aims. A brief look at these two aspects of the Q.F.L. will illustrate the extent to which the presence of two linguistic groups affects the organization.

As for the internal structure of the Q.F.L., care has been taken to respect both linguistic groups through the insistance on bilingual staff and publications as well as simultaneous translation at the Congresses, but the latter is restricted to meetings held in the main assembly room. Although at the time of Verdoodt's inquiry the number of anglophone participants benefitting from such a service was declining, the Q.F.L. still maintained it in respect to its anglophone minority.

The objectives of the Q.F.L. at its formation in 1956 were mainly those of an *utilitarian nature*. According to Verdoodt, "the almost unique objective of the Q.F.L. was to represent the unions which were affiliated to it before the authorities of the province of Quebec." (p. 26) He goes on to say that "while the Q.F.L. concentrated on this precise *utilitarian objective*, there wasn't any conflict, either with the C.L.C. or with the unions who were affiliated to it. . ." (p. 26).

The Q.F.L. began to "make waves" in the Canadian union movement and Canadian society as soon as they decided to pursue *external objectives*, as well as *utilitarian* ones. This first occured in 1957, when the Q.F.L., in

connection with the miners' strike in Murdochville, organized the "Marche sur Murdochville". In 1959, nine positions were added to the Q.F.L. executive council for representatives of the different regions of Quebec[3] and in 1960 a decision was made "to support the foundation of the New Democratic Party (N.D.P.)." (Verdoodt, p. 28).

With the pursuit of *external political objectives* fairly well established, the Q.F.L. began to conflict with the C.L.C.: "The opposition which (was) finally manifested on the part of the Q.F.L. to the C.L.C. in the determination of *external political objectives* (can be explained by) the amplification of the role of the state of Quebec (especially since 1960), the rise of nationalism, and especially the presence of the C.N.T.U." (Brossard in Verdoodt, p. 28)

Throughout the 1960's the tension between the Q.F.L. and C.L.C. grew more and more intense as the Q.F.L.'s position on certain external aims grew more pronounced. In 1963 they published "Notes sur la situation actuelle au Québec des unions nationales et internationales" ("Notes on the present situation in Quebec of national and international unions"). This "demanded that the unions affiliated to the C.L.C. be obliged to affiliate their locals to the provincial federations and that the C.L.C. transfer the responsibilities for education and organization in Quebec to the Q.F.L." (Verdoodt, p. 31) In 1965, the Q.F.L. spoke out "in favor of federalism" along the lines of decentralization with an "impartial tribunal to judge the differences between the provinces and the central power." (Verdoodt, p. 32) Also in that same year, the Q.F.L. and the C.L.C. confronted each other, first in the postal workers strike in Montreal and later in the dispute at "Radio Canada between the international union I.A.T.S.E. (supported by the C.L.C.) and Public Service Union of Canada (supported by the Q.F.L.)". (Verdoodt, p. 32)

At the 1966 Congress of the C.L.C., the Q.F.L. made the following demands:

1. Federations must be able to charter:
   a. Labor Councils
   b. Trade or industrial councils
   c. The regional groups of unionized workers
2. They must assume the functions of the regional bureaus (which should be abolished) including the services to the chartered locals (those affiliated directly to the C.L.C. and not the Q.F.L.).
3. In order to accomplish that mentioned in number 2, the C.L.C. should give the Q.F.L. that portion of its budget covering the cost of these services." (Verdoodt, p. 34)

The Congress rejected points 1c, 2 and 3 and recommended that other means be found to solve 1a and b[4]. Finally, in 1969, the C.L.C. accepted a measure by the Q.F.L. establishing a close relationship between the permanent staff members of the C.L.C. and Q.F.L. at the regional conferences of the C.N.T.U.-Q.F.L.-C.E.Q. (Corporation des enseignants du Québec).

In 1969, the Q.F.L. held its biennial assembly meeting, at which the Q.F.L. adopted certain measures to guarantee more autonomy from the C.L.C. These measures were the result of Commission Number Five: "Action Syndicale: Vers un nouveau départ." (Union Action: Toward a new beginning). As briefly stated in Verdoodt's report, these measures consisted of:

"1. Acknowledgement of the unique situation of Quebec as a society and a nation.

2. Acknowledgement of the necessity of an independence of action in Quebec society.
3. Duty for the Quebec divisions of an international or pan-Canadian union to create for itself a Quebec organization that would have a statute defined at the interior of the union, the right to name representatives (and a budget to do so), the right to take a position on Quebec questions, and to fill all normal functions of the union within the territory of Quebec." (p. 36)

These measures were put into practice when the Q.F.L. voted to readmit the teamsters who had been expelled from the C.L.C. (and thus, the Q.F.L.) in 1958 for reasons of "maraudage-syndical" (union raiding). Such action by the Q.F.L. was in direct defiance of the C.L.C. and further strenghtened the Q.F.L.'s push for autonomy.

In terms of actual support for a political party, a majority of delegates at the 1969 Congress of the Q.F.L. continued to support the N.D.P. because of its close correspondence to the policies of the Q.F.L.; however, because this support did not come directly from the members, it was decided to put more emphasis on the area of political education. A committee for social, economic and political action was established to help integrate political action with the daily life of the union. On the provincial level, it was decided not to officially support any political party, although some participants already did support the Parti québécois (P.Q.).

Perhaps the most significant action undertaken by the Q.F.L., in terms of this report, is that which focused on linguistic policy. This came in reaction to the governments passing of "Law No. 63" which, among others, gave parents the right to choose the language of instruction for their children. Centering on the language to be used at work, as well as the integration of immigrants, the Q.F.L. proposed its "Projet de Politique Linguistique de la F.T.Q." (Project of Linguistic Policy of the Q.F.L.).

Reaction to this policy by members of the Q.F.L. was mixed. For example, The United Steel Workers of America were vehemently opposed to the proposal. Instead, they favored total censure of Law 63 and the promotion of unilingual French. (The Q.F.L. project provided for the existence of an English speaking school.) On the other hand, there were delegates at the convention (some being anglophones) who considered the energy spent on linguistic issues as a waste of time. As Verdoodt stated, "the attitude in favor of rapid economic development without including a linguistic option was relatively strong." (Verdoodt, p. 50)

This brief review of the Q.F.L. and the effect that the presence of two linguistic groups has had on its development is a good illustration of our first assumption: The structural relations formed between linguistic groups must be congruent with the pursued objectives. As long as the Q.F.L. pursued *utilitarian objectives* and respected the linguistic rights of both groups, problems were negligible; however, when external objectives were introduced (especially of a political nature) divisions appeared in the internal structure of the Q.F.L. as well as in its relationship with the C.L.C., and in effect, the entire labor movement in Canada.

C. Fourteen Large Pan-Canadian and/or International Unions

In conducting his study, Verdoodt presented each of fourteen large Quebec unions (based on Quebec membership) with a questionnaire to discern what the situation was between the linguistic groups. The results of this

questionnaire revealed that the relationships between the linguistic groups in these unions fell between two extremes: those promoting Quebec independence and those favoring Canadian federalism. Given the similarity of circumstances within these unions, it is not necessary to review all of them in their entirety. Therefore, we will select only a few to illustrate how linguistic dualism has affected their structures and objectives.

Before dealing directly with the specific unions, a brief discussion of a union and its structure is necessary. It has already been mentioned that the local forms the base unit of Canadian unions. Each local is part of a larger organization, that being the union, which represents either a commercial or industrial sector or an alliance formed by people of a certain profession (or professions). For example, on the one hand, tobacco workers, steelworkers, garment workers, etc. all belong to separate unions; yet on the other hand, another union groups together workers of leather, plastic, and various novelty items (International Leather goods, Plastics, and Novelty Workers Union.).

"The essential function of the local concerns the negotiation and application of a contract." (Benhamou-Hirtz in Verdoodt, p. 59). In addition, to this general utilitarian objective, the local also plays an important and active role in community life by offering various social services not only to members but also to the entire community. Retirement funds, blood banks, and charity work are only a few examples of how a local can extend itself beyond the union. Another important feature of this aspect of unionism is the actual construction of a building to house a particular local. This not only serves as a meeting place for members, it also serves as a kind of "civic center for the community." (Verdoodt, p. 63) It can be used for such occasions as weddings, dances, and meetings of local organizations, to name just a few.

As has already been mentioned, the majority of unions affiliated to the C.L.C. are international, meaning their headquarters are found outside of Canada, and in fact, in the United States. This has required a structure which would bind the Canadian local of a given union to the international organization. As a result, Canadian locals are generally united under a regional director who creates the liaison between the locals and the international administration. On the Canadian level, there is generally a national director who, in some cases, is a member of the international executive committee, while in others, he serves only as the Canadian Director.

With this brief description of the structure of an international union in Canada, now let us address ourselves to the impact which English-French relations has had on this structure.

In the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives*, the locals of pan-Canadian or international unions enjoy considerable autonomy so that the interests of the Quebec francophone are protected. As was revealed from the interviews conducted by Verdoodt, locals composed of both linguistic groups hold their meetings in one or both languages (depending on who is present) as well as issue bilingual publications and notices.[5] For example, of the four bilingual sections of the United Stealworkers of America (U.S.W) interviewed by Verdoodt, three (Noranda-Mines, Dosco-Sidbec, and Stelco-Notre-Dame) held meetings mostly in French but published circulars in both languages, especially if the original text was in English (STELCO-NOTRE-DAME). For the other local (STELCO LACHINE) publications were also bilingual, as well as the meetings if requested by the anglophones. The procedure used

by the bilingual locals of other unions with respect to the language of communication was similar to that of the U.S.W.

Problems of language in pursuing *utilitarian objectives* were especially frequent in negotiations with management. Historically, the language of management for most of Quebec's industries had been English, while the working force was mostly francophone. With the rise of Quebec nationalism, and thus the position of the French language, the use of French by company management has increased. However, there are still cases where contracts are negotiated in English (but issued in both languages.) In one case, that of the local "Atlas-Steel" of the U.S.W., a strike was called in 1964 "because the management negotiators not only wanted to speak just English but also demanded that the contract be written up only in English. But, almost no worker in this enterprise spoke English. The strike would have meant, without doubt, a reversal of the situation (the progress of the French language). But the government of Quebec intervened and imposed that contracts must be bilingual, if one of the parties involved demands it." (Verdoodt, p. 70)

It has already been mentioned that Canadian locals have a certain degree of independence from the international "regime". There still do exist, however, certain areas in which the international organization does impose itself on the locals. For example, in several unions, in order to declare a strike, permission must first be obtained from the international headquarters. This is quite pronounced in the Retail Clerk's International Association (R.C.I.A.) and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (I.B.E.W.). In principle, the same holds true for the U.S.W., the Service Employees International Union, and the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America. In practice, however, the international headquarters of these unions do not interfere. For the other unions interviewed, it was mostly the Canadian or regional director who had authority over declaring a strike.

The successful pursuit of *educational objectives* by international unions in Quebec has generally required that these services be administered at least from Canada and even more appropriately from Quebec. For the most part, the educational services administered by the international headquarters of Quebec unions are of no use to the Quebec francophone because they are almost entirely unilingual English. (Publications from the main offices, as well as personnel, are generally unilingual English.) In the Tobacco Workers International Union, for example, educational services are organized in Washington, D.C. but are administered through the Canadian representatives in Montreal. (This union also strongly feels that the Q.F.L. should have a more important role in the services offered.) For the most part, *educational objectives* are pursued within a bilingual framework, meaning that both linguistic groups have access to educational materials and services in their respective language. This holds true also for cases where the administering office is outside of Quebec. In the Textile Workers Union of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, such services are organized by the Canadian office in Toronto.

The pursuit of *external objectives*, especially those of a political nature, has had a varying effect on relations between the linguistic groups. We have already seen signs of nationalistic tendencies in the United Steelworkers of America from their strong opposition to the linguistic project proposed by the Q.F.L. at its (the Q.F.L.) Congress in 1969. However, even before this incident, the U.S.W. had already made statements strongly in

favor of Quebec. For example, in his annual report of 1966, J. Gerin-Lajoie, then director of the Quebec district of the U.S.W., stated: "The effectiveness of the union and the needs of the workers of Quebec demand that the practical direction of Quebec be done in Quebec, and not elsewhere. The steelworkers of Quebec reserve the right to elect a Quebec director having effective decision making power: if he makes good decisions, he will be re-elected; if not, he will be defeated. And in this way, the members of Quebec will have a real authority over the functioning of the Quebec union." (Gerin-Lajoie in Verdoodt, p. 87-8) This comment was in reference to a resolution introduced at the International Steelworkers' Congress in July of 1966. This resolution proposed to give the Canadian president the same powers as the international union president. In doing so, decisions made by the Quebec district directors would have been subjected to approval by the Canadian director living in Toronto. The defeat of this resolution was a clear affirmation in the belief that Quebec must maintain and protect her identity.

Similarly, in the Canadian Public Servants Union (Syndicat Canadien de la Fonction Publique - S.C.F.P.) tension has also been created in the pursuit of *external political objectives*, and in particular, those embracing the idea of Quebec nationalism. For example, the Council of Quebec[6], speaking for the S.C.F.P. was publically opposed to Law 63 in much the same way as the U.S.W., saying it was "too weak to regulate the use of languages." (Verdoodt, p. 140) Even the statutes of the Council express strong nationalistic tendencies. As Verdoodt noted "one of the first goals of the Council is to give value to the opinions of the workers of Quebec within the C.L.C. . . . The members of the S.C.F.P. in Quebec being mostly of the French language, and these francophones having their own culture and political objectives which often differ from those of their fellow English-speaking citizens, the Council of Quebec must see to it that the ends proposed by the S.C.F.P. never be contrary to the aspirations of Quebec, neither from a political, economic, and social point of view, nor from the union point of view." (p. 140).

The Quebec Council has taken care to maintain these principles. For the levels of *communication*, *coordination*, and *representation*, all is handled only in French. For the level of *representation*, in 1969 the Congress of the S.C.F.P. voted that "the director of Quebec must be the coordinator of the activities of the S.C.F.P. in Quebec, even those financed by the pan-Canadian S.C.F.P. and that the director of Quebec should be, ex-officio, the secretary of the Council of Quebec and that the secretary may not be designated from outside of Quebec." (Verdoodt, p. 141)

Such strong feelings favoring the Province of Quebec were not unanimous among the fourteen pan-Canadian and international unions interviewed by Verdoodt. In fact, where the U.S.W. and the S.C.F.P. represented one extreme, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (I.L.G.W.U.) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (A.C.W.A.) represented the other, i.e. favoring a very strongly unified union movement encompassing all of Canada. Neither of these unions were in favor of total autonomy for the Q.F.L. from the C.L.C. At least the A.C.W.A. recognized the need for more cooperation between the representatives of the C.L.C. and the Q.F.L. as well as the need to support the N.D.P., saying it was the only progressive federal party; however, it is against laws which aim at giving Quebec unions a typically Quebec character, "as those proposed by the 'Parti Québecois'." (Verdoodt, p. 123)

A look at the structures of these two unions reveals their lack of radical tendencies. For example, in the I.L.G.W.U., bilingualism is reserved for the level of *communication*. For *coordination* with the international headquarters (New York), all correspondence is in English. Within Quebec, meetings are generally bilingual, where necessary. Even here, however, coordination is in English due to the fact that management is most often English-speaking. There is also a 'Joint Bureau' in Montreal comprised of the elected directors of Quebec locals; however, even this director was an anglophone at the time of this survey.

Perhaps one reason for the somewhat passive attitude of the I.L.G.W.U. and the A.C.W.A. on matters relating to Quebec and the Quebec francophone can be attributed to their considerable membership from other linguistic groups (e.g. Italian, Greek, and Yiddish). This puts an added burden on the administration of these unions who have to compensate for these linguistic minority groups.

Generally speaking, these larger pan-Canadian and international unions have begun to recognize the particular situation of Quebec. Because of their larger membership, they are financially more capable to make provisions for the Quebec francophone, such as bilingual publications and contracts, and simultaneous translation (in some cases even on the international level.) However, as we will see shortly, such has not been the case for unions with a smaller Quebec membership.

D. Eleven Smaller pan-Canadian and International Unions

As has already been mentioned, these unions have been classified as small due to their limited numerical membership in the Province of Quebec. If the international or Canadian organization as a whole is considered, however, they may actually have as large (or larger) a membership than some of those unions mentioned in the previous section.

Within these unions, the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives* receives the most attention because their small membership and limited finances do not allow them to fully develop their other objectives. As a result, on the local level, there is an attempt made by bilingual sections to speak both languages at meetings, and at the very least, publish circulars and contracts in both languages.

In some cases, the international headquarters still must be informed in order to declare a strike and/or sign a contract: United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union; International Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers' Union; Distillery, Rectifying, Wine, and Allied Workers' International Union of America; United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America; and the International Brotherhood of Potters.

The pursuit of *educational objectives* is considerably restricted compared with the larger unions. The majority of these unions had no services for education and either did without (as in the United Hatters Cap and Millinery Workers International Union) or relied on the C.L.C. or the Q.F.L. (as in the United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America). Somewhat more fortunate was the International Woodworkers of America (I.W.A.). Educational services were available and occasionally there were meetings at the level of Quebec devoted to these services. Nationally, these educational services are handled by anglophones. However, these services are decentralized and for Quebec, are handled by the permanent representatives in Montreal.

External political objectives did not seem to be as big an issue for these smaller unions. The I.W.A. seemed to be the most outspoken, supporting the Q.F.L. (as opposed to the C.L.C) and the N.D.P. In addition, when asked what changes could be foreseen for the international unions and the Q.F.L. in the future, they replied "a larger preoccupation with Quebec questions"; when asked "If these changes did not occur quick enough, what do you propose?", they answered, "Intervention by the Quebec government with a socialist transformation of society." (Verdoodt, p. 168)

In general, these smaller unions lacked any real political involvement beyond a certain moral support for the N.D.P. Only the Distillery, Rectifying, Wine and Allied Workers' International Union of America (D.W.I.U.) were strongly opposed to giving this support. When asked: "What does your union do in the domain of political action:", they answered: "Nothing". But, when asked: "What do you think of the Q.F.L. and C.L.C. in the domain of political action?", the reply was: The N.D.P. option is to be condemned." (Verdoodt, p. 186) However, even though these directors did, in some cases, voice opinions concerning political matters, there was no evidence presented in Verdoodt's survey to indicate that politics mobilized union members in the smaller unions to the same degree that it had in the larger ones. In terms of structure, this lack of well organized and well defined political objectives resulted in a less pronounced belief in the "identité québecoise". Although on the local level at least some attempt was made to provide bilingual services, on the international level, *communication* and *coordination* were still primarily in English and *representation* was dominated by anglophones.

2. How are flexible structural relations between the linguistic groups established so that they can be modified when the objectives of one of the two groups change?

Although the previous question concentrated on the types of structural relations found between the linguistic groups at various levels of the Canadian labor movement, it also provided the groundwork for our second assumption which focuses on the flexibility of the structure in response to changed or modified objectives by one of the linguistic groups. In order to verify this we again must look at the situation prevailing in each of the four areas of the Canadian labor movement introduced in response to the first question.

One illustration of this premise is the relationship between the Q.F.L. and the C.L.C. As long as the Q.F.L. was concerned with primarily *utilitarian* aims, its relationship with the C.L.C. remained calm. However, when *political objectives* were emphasized along with those of a utilitarian nature, conflict was created. In order to minimize this conflict, concessions had to be made by the C.L.C. (predominantly anglophones) in order to accommodate the demands made by the Q.F.L. (predominantly francophone). As a result, more autonomy was granted to the Q.F.L. so that it had more freedom to pursue its objectives according to its needs. In order to provide for this upsurge of Quebec nationalism, the C.L.C. has had to recognize the situation of Quebec by decentralizing certain services, especially those of an educational nature, as well as providing, at the very least, certain bilingual services (devoting a portion of the monthly magazine to francophones, responding in French to letters written in the same, etc.).

Due to the amount of tension still evident in Verdoodt's report, it would seem that the efforts by the C.L.C. have not been sufficient. In order to decrease conflict, the C.L.C. would have to be even more flexible in making allowances for the demands of the Q.F.L.; otherwise, Quebec nationalistic

feelings may become so strong that the overall *association* of French and English Canadians in one organizational structure may be at stake.

For the actual unions interviewed by Verdoodt in his study (both large and small) the need for flexible structural relations is most readibly observable in the unions who tend to be openly in favor of enhancing the position of the Quebec francophone. For example, we have already seen such a tendency in the United Steelworkers of America (U.S.W.) From their rejection of the Q.F.L.'s linguistic policy[8] as well as the action taken within the international body of the U.S.W., one might expect to find structural tensions resulting from objectives of a "francophone nature" within an organization whose majority is anglophone, (i.e. the international U.S.W. and the C.L.C.). On the contrary, however, at least for the U.S.W., there seems to be some satisfaction among the Quebec members about the association they share with their Canadian anglophone counterparts. I again quote from J. Gerin Lajoie's annual report for the U.S.W. (1966) in which he stated his admiration for the Canadian director of the U.S.W., William Mahoney, for his support of the need to recognize the special circumstance found within Quebec. Gerin-Lajoie further says, "I would be saddened to see the collaboration between the district of Quebec and the Canadian office diminish because of a divergence in the way we see our structures." (Gerin-Lajoie in Verdoodt, p. 90) In the same way, William Mahoney has been quoted as saying: "We have always taken the position that, where French is the predominantly used language, union information and union services must be available in the French language." (Williams in Miller and Isbester, p. 154). Such an attitude by the Canadian anglophone director seems to have yielded a structure which permitted the francophone dominated U.S.W. of Quebec to pursue its own interests without any real disturbance to their overall association with anglophones. While the C.L.C.'s reluctance to grant the Q.F.L. any autonomy despite their increased demands created tension between the two bodies, the more relaxed (and perhaps more realistic) relationship between the Quebec district of the U.S.W. and the Canadian bureau seemed to satisfy the needs of the two groups, thus reducing conflict.

As for the smaller unions, the need for flexibility was not as easily observable; for the most part, no measurable change in any one specific objective was presented. Being more concerned with *utilitarian objectives* than the more controversial *external political objectives*, their structure seemed to withstand a more rigid structure. When asked about what could be expected from the future for the labor union movement and the Quebec francophone, the response of most of the smaller unions indicated that they, too, would require more freedom to pursue their own interests. These interests included increased support for the Q.F.L. as well as increased emphasis on the particular needs of Quebec.

From the answers to our first two assumptions we have seen: 1. The relationship between union structure and the objectives pursued by an union; and 2. The need for a flexible structure which can accommodate a change in the objectives of one of the linguistic groups. Now from our third assumption we will see how the continued presence of linguistic tensions is related to the structural hierarchy of the union.

3. When a problem exists at an inferior structural level, it is generally necessary to find its solution at a superior level.

To support this statement, we would like to quote what Verdoodt said in the conclusion to his report:

> Conflicts of *communication* would be quickly resolved if the representatives (permanent staff members) in charge of *coordination* were bilingual. They would be bilingual if they were named by Quebec directors (level of *representation*). And finally, the Quebec francophone would have maximum freedom to manoeuvre if the overall *association* was relaxed enough in order to permit the necessary initiatives. (Verdoodt, p. 218 & 219).

If we consider the structural levels which are most often plagued by conflict, Verdoodt's conclusion seems to be well supported. In the C.L.C., the Q.F.L., and all of the unions interviewed by Verdoodt, problems of *communication* and *coordination* between francophones and anglophones were caused in part by the lack of francophones at the level of *representation*. The majority of these unions (and the C.L.C.) were only a part of a union organization dominated by anglophones. Therefore, unless special provisions were made for Quebec francophones, tension and conflict were likely to arise. Such provisions were more likely to be made if francophones were at a level of *representation* where their opinions could be voiced and their wants and needs pursued. Under these circumstances, then, the overall level of *association* is less likely to be jeopordized.

It should not be assumed, however, that solving a problem at a superior level will automatically guarantee that conflict will be eliminated. The importance of the pursued objectives should not be forgotten nor the relationship between these and the structural levels.

This concludes the summary of linguistic relations in the Canadian labor union movement as revealed in Verdoodt's study. From this, we feel it cannot be denied that the relationship between structure and objectives will sharply influence the likelihood of conflict. Keeping this in mind, let us now turn to the labor union movement in Belgium to see if the same situation exists, and if so, where the differences and similarities lie. As mentioned in the introduction, a brief description of the structure of Belgian unions will be followed by an analysis of these unions in terms of our three assumptions.

NOTES

PART ONE

1. The same method was also used to analyze the three Belgian unions which will be presented in the second half of this report.
2. In 1972, two international unions - the International Brotherhood of Paper Workers and Paper Makers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulfite and Paper Mill Workers' Union - merged and in 1974 the merged unions split to form the Canadian Paper Workers' Union. This separation came about due to insurmountable difficulties with the language of *communication* with the international headquarters of the individual unions, which was only in English. (Personal communication with Mr. Jean Marc Hudon of the Canadian Paper Workers' Union on August 31, 1976).
3. It is important to realize that formerly, this Q.F.L. executive council was composed of representatives of industrial sectors. By reducing the number of these representatives from 15 to 6, for the first time preference was given to the development of a region (Quebec) as opposed to a specific industry.
4. At the last convention in 1975, the C.L.C. finally approved these demands of the Q.F.L. (Personal communication with Mr. Jean Marc Hudon, member of the Canadian Paper Workers' Union on August 31, 1976)
5. While we speak here of *utilitarian objectives,* it should be realized that such services also serve an educational purpose as well.
6. This organization is sponsored by the S.C.F.P.; it exists only in Quebec and "fournishes the majority of services to the Quebec sections of the S.C.F.P." (Verdoodt, p. 138)
7. Utilitarian objectives are fundamentally focused on because they are the most essential in terms of a union's major objective - bargaining with management for workers' benefits.
8. The linguistic policy referred to here is the one presented at the Q.F.L.'s Congress in 1969.

III. THE STRUCTURE OF THE BELGIAN LABOR UNION MOVEMENT AND A REVIEW OF FRENCH/DUTCH RELATIONS.

The following pages of this report will be devoted to the structure of Belgian labor unions and how this structure has had to respond to the needs of Dutch- and French-speaking members. Just as Verdoodt used the method originally designed by Meisel and Lemieux to analyze Canadian unions, the three main Belgian union organizations to be discussed below were also analyzed according to the same method. The results of these analyses serve as the focal point for determining the present state of relations between Dutch- and French-speaking union members. As was done with Canada, however, before discussing these relations on the basis of the three assumptions presented in the Introduction, an understanding of the structure of Belgium's labor unions is necessary.

A. Structure

Unlike the system found in the United States and Canada, Belgians have the opportunity to choose from among three main union organizations:[1] 1. The Christian Trade Union Federation (Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens - C.S.C.), 2. The General Federation of Belgian Labor (Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique - F.G.T.B.), and 3. The General Center of Liberal Unions (Centrale Générale des Syndicats Libéraux de Belgique. - C.G.S.L.B.).[2] Under this system an individual may be affiliated to the F.G.T.B., for example, while the majority of his fellow workers in the same enterprise may belong to the C.S.C. Thus, the restriction of one union per enterprise as enforced in Canada (and which originated in the United States with the Wagner Act) does not exist in Belgium.

Another sharp contrast between the Canadian and Belgian union movements is the difference in overall union membership. Whereas a relatively small percentage of Canadians are unionized, according to Lorwin, in 1971 two out of every three wage and salary workers in Belgium were unionized. (Lorwin, p. 248) Membership varies according to sector with roughly 80% for workers, 70% for the public services, and 40% for employees. (Neuville in Laurent-Reynoso, p. 3)

The C.S.C. is the largest of the three main union organizations with membership in 1972 totalling 1, 046, 360. Regionally, the majority of C.S.C. members are from Flanders - 74.5% in 1966 - while only 17.8% of its members at that time were from Wallonia and 7.7% from Brussels.[3] In addition to having a stronger Flemish following, the C.S.C. also has a majority of members in the following industries: food, textiles, hats, and dressmaking. It also accounted for a majority of the bank and insurance employees. (Spitaels and Lambert in Rochon, p. 4) In general, the C.S.C. attracts employees and young workers. (Laurent-Reynoso, p. 4)

The F.G.T.B. is the second largest union organization. In 1972 membership totalled 930, 000. In 1964 47% of its members were from Flanders, 41% from Wallonia and 12% from Brussels.[4] In terms of industry, and sector, the F.G.T.B. in 1967 had a majority in the industries of the Walloon region such as steel, metal construction, glass, paper production, printing, gas and electricity. In addition, they also comprised a majority of employees in the large stores. (Spitaels and Lambert in Rochon, p. 4) In general, the F.G.T.B. attracts manual workers.

The C.G.S.L.B. is the smallest of the three main unions. According to Liénart, "the organization actually has about 156,000 members of which 60

to 65% are Dutch-speaking from the Flemish part of the country and from Brussels." (Liénart, p. 18) Its strongest areas are the food industry and the leather and hide industries.

Structurally, the C.S.C. and the F.G.T.B. are very similar: "The national interprofessional unions are composed of the national unions of a particular industry or professional area and are subdivided into regional interprofessional unions. These regional organizations are composed of the regional unions of a certain industry or profession which in turn are made up of the unions of an enterprise or of the locals of a considered region." (Ebertzheim, in Laurent-Reynoso, p. 4) Schematically, the two organizations can be illustrated as follows:

Figure III.

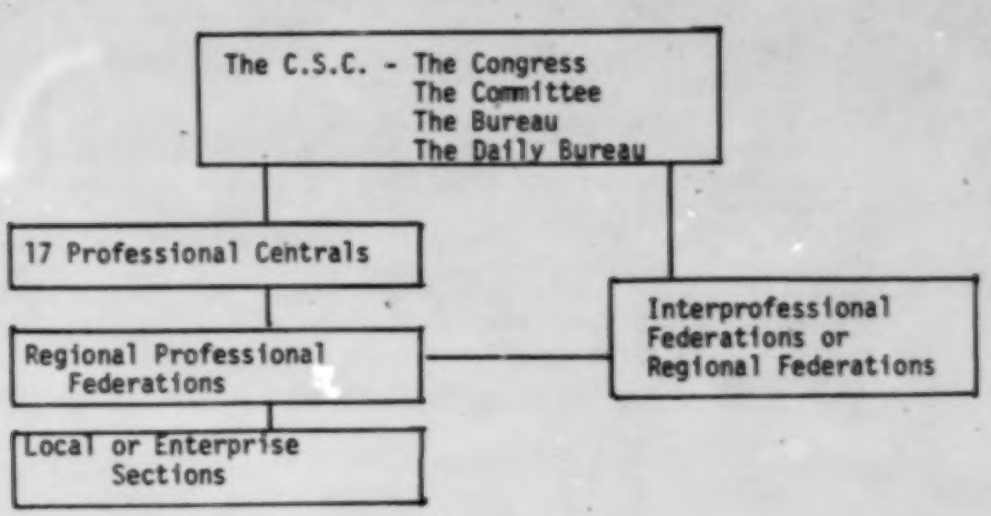
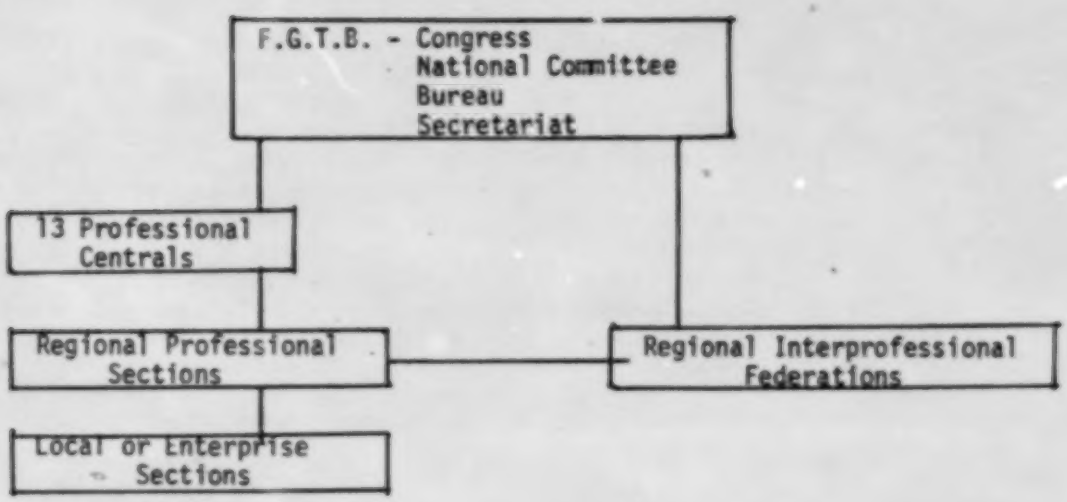


Figure IV.



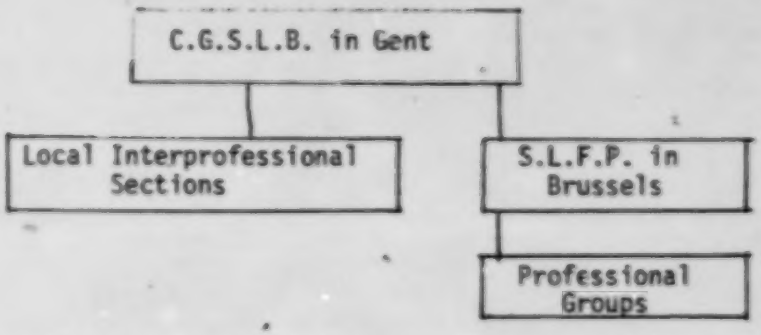
(Rochon, p. 6)

The distribution of membership in the 17 Centrals of the C.S.C. is much less concentrated than that of the F.G.T.B. For the C.S.C., the Centrals for Lumber and Construction, Metal and Textiles only accounted for 48.7% of the C.S.C. members. However, the General Central, the Metal Workers' Central and the General Central of Public Services of the F.G.T.B. represented 64,71% of F.G.T.B. membership. (Rochon, p. 4 & 5). This reflects the tendency of certain sectors to be attracted to the F.G.T.B., whereas the C.S.C. does not seem to be more favorable to any one sector in particular.

The structure of the C.G.S.L.B. is totally different from that of the other two national unions. In the words of Liénart: "The C.G.S.L.B. is a national interprofessional union organization. Most of the services are centralized and the organization forms a kind of circle, at the interior of which there are those who are specialized in this or that type of professional sector, whether that be textiles, mines, or whatever." (Liénart, p. 10) He goes on to say that: "This centralization results in the total suppression of any intermediary bodies between, on the one hand, the General Central in Gent, and on the other hand, the local sections. When one speaks of regional or local sections, this includes, perhaps, a town or perhaps, half a province, depending on the differences in membership. Thus, the C.G.S.L.B. represents a national interprofessional central with local sections which are also interprofessional. There are no professional centrals (as in the C.S.C. and the F.G.T.B.). (Liénart, p. 11).

In addition to the interprofessional groupings of the C.G.S.L.B. itself, the employees of the public services are administered under the Free Union of Public Servants (Syndicat Libre de la Fonction Publique - S.L.F.P.). This division of the C.G.S.L.B., which is virtually autonomous, is composed of 10 groups organized on a professional basis, i.e. railways, public servants, teachers, etc. "Each group is independent of the S.L.F.P., especially financially, meaning that each group provides for its own needs and manages its own affairs." (Liénart, p. 23) The structure of the C.G.S.L.B. and the S.L.F.P. can be represented by the following:

Figure V.



Another feature of the Belgian union movement which distinguishes it from the Canadian movement is the nebulous relationship which each of the three main organizations has with one of the three main Belgian political parties. For example, the C.S.C. is represented on the Agenda Commission,

a body which serves as a liaison between the different groups of "le monde catholique". (Rowies, p. 24) This relationship is not as binding as that found between the F.G.T.B. and the Common Action, a socialist organization which links together the various socialist forces, i.e. the Belgian Socialist Party (Parti Socialist Belge, P.S.B.), the mutualities and the cooperatives. In addition, the leaders of each of these different "branches" of the socialist movement, including the F G.T.B., have an advisory position on the Bureau of the P.S.B., the highest level of that political party. (Rowies, p. 24) For the Liberals, there also exists a coordination committee to which the various liberal organizations belong, including the Party of Liberty and Progress (P.L.P.). Beyond this committee, however, the C.G.S.L.B. is not bound by any formalities with the P.L.P., as exists between the F.G.T.B. and the P.S.B.

Given this brief description of the structure of Belgian labor unions, we now turn to the specific situation found between the linguistic groups within each of the three main union bodies.

B. French/Dutch Relations in Belgian Labor Unions

As was mentioned previously, the three main Belgian labor unions were subjected to the same form of analysis as the Quebec unions. Interviews were conducted among leaders at various levels of each of the three main union organizations. The questionnaire used as a guideline was basically similar for all three unions, seeking to determine the structural relations which exist and facilitate the pursuit of *utilitarian, educational,* and *external* aims. For the C.S.C. and the F.G.T.B., the similarity of their structures allowed Laurent-Reynoso and Rochon to follow more or less the same line of questioning. The more unified structure of the C.G.S.L.B. meant that the questionnaire had to be adapted somewhat to be applicable to the organization. The results of these three inquiries serve as the basis for this present analysis.

1. What types of structural relations need to be established between the linguistic groups so that they are congruent with the pursued objectives?

A. The C.S.C.

In investigating the C.S.C., Laurent-Reynoso questioned directors and representatives in 16 of the 17 Centrals (The Diamond Workers' Central was omitted because it is unilingual Dutch.) In each Central responses were asked from one Flemish member and one French member, except for the Transport Workers' Central, where only a Flemish Representative was asked to respond. In addition to the Centrals, a Francophone and a Flemish member of the Brussels Federation and a Flemish, a Walloon, and a native of Brussels from the national C.S.C. were also questioned.

In the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives,* the responses of the Centrals interviewed by Laurent-Reynoso, indicate that the level of *communication* does not cause problems as one may expect. (See Figure I) It is only at smaller meetings, where translation services are not available, that French may be employed instead of Dutch; otherwise, meetings are generally bilingual, with or without translation, depending on the ability of everyone present to understand both languages. The language of written communication varies: with the regional federations, the majority of Centrals employ the language of the federation in question; with the Brussels Federation, Flemish Centrals

use Dutch and French Centrals use French; with employers, the majority of French and Dutch respondents said in the language of the employer; with the ministry, the majority of Dutch and half of the French respondents said that the language spoken by the minister in question determined the language of communication, while the other half of the French respondents said they used French. There are separate publications for French and Flemish members which are not identical.

The responses put forth by the French and Flemish respondents from the Brussels Federation were more contradictory implying that conflict is more prevalent here than in the Centrals. The Flemish respondent said that at small meetings, both languages are used and that simultaneous translation is available even for one person. The French respondent, on the other hand, said that these meetings were held only in Flemish.

The language of written communication, or *coordination* in some cases, was less conflictual. Both the Flemish and French staff members that were interviewed said they used their own language for all purposes, i.e. writing to management, ministers, and the secretary general.

Within the national organization of the C.S.C. all three respondents said that both languages are used at all meetings, but simultaneous translation is only provided at larger meetings. The French respondent did admit that there was a "particular tendency for the Flemings to express themselves in French while Francophones make little effort to speak Dutch. (Francophone respondent from the national C.S.C. in Laurent Reynoso, p. 77).

Written communication was handled in a variety of ways. The Francophone staff member said he has his letters translated if they are addressed to a Flemish regional federation. The Flemish and Brussels staff members also use the language of the federation as the criteria for choosing the language used in written communication. In writing to the Centrals, the Francophone said that French-speakers use French and Dutch-speakers use Dutch. The Flemish respondent, however, said that it depends on the language of the person to whom the letter is directed. A similar trichotomy is obtained for the language used when writing to management representatives: 1. Francophone: "In the language where the head of the enterprise is located"; 2. Flemish: "Depends on the maternal language of the C.S.C. functionary."; and 3. the "Bruxellois": "In both languages, but more often in French." (Responses of C.S.C. staff interviewed by Laurent-Reynoso, p. 78).

A good reason for lack of any significant conflict in the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives* at the levels of *communication* and *coordination* is the fact that the statutes in many Centrals, as well as the National C.S.C., regulate, to some extent, the level of representation by linguistic group. Contrary to the opinions expressed by the majority of Flemish and French respondents from the Centrals (i.e. that no regulation exists), the statutes reveal that 13 Centrals do attempt to control the representation of each linguistic group. Laurent-Reynoso cited 4 measures "to equalize the influence of each linguistic group:

1. A degressive scale proportional to the number of members. For example, the council of the Lumber and Construction Central is composed of delegates from the Professional Federations as follows: 250 members = 1 delegate; 1500 members = 2 delegates; 3000 members = 3 delegates, and so on. Thus the minority group is given a slight advantage.

2. Correction at the level of executive and administrative bodies of the Central.
   This exists in four Centrals whose statutes regulate from what linguistic group certain leaders must come.

3. "Comité National Paritaire"
   The National Committee of three Centrals observes linguistic parity.

4. Statutes concerning the application of a guarantee of a term of office for the linguistic minority.
   The Central of Public Services was the only Central with this type of control over linguistic representation.
   (Laurent-Reynoso, p. 86-101)

In the Brussels Federation, both the Flemish and French respondents agreed that there wasn't any correction to assure equal representation of one linguistic group. More specifically, the Flemish respondent said: "No. It would be discrimination if we indicated that in the statutes. We have reached a modus vivendi. Ex. The president belongs to one linguistic group and the vice-president to the other." (Flemish respondent in Laurent-Reynoso, p. 72)

Representation in the national C.S.C., like the Centrals, is also controlled. Although the three respondents (a Fleming, a Walloon and a "Bruxellois") differed somewhat when asked if any correction did exist, all three admitted that the president belongs to one linguistic group and the secretary general to the other. (Laurent-Reynoso, p. 81)

There seems to be a general agreement among those interviewed from the Centrals that *educational objectives* are best pursued by each linguistic group separately. These objectives could only be successfully pursued if organized by linguistic region. Whereas the Flemish respondents had more of a preference for educational programs to be organized on the local level, the French clearly favored such sessions conducted on a regional basis. (Laurent-Reynoso, p. 51) In the majority of Centrals, the person in charge of organizing educational programs for union members was a Fleming. Only in three were there one French and one Fleming in charge of educational aims.

The Regional Federation in Brussels has educational meetings according to linguistic group. As with the Centrals, the Flemish prefer such sessions on the local level and the French on the regional level. The sessions are administered by French and Flemish co-coordinators.

Educational programs conducted by the national C.S.C. are also done by linguistic group. In contrast to the Centrals and the Brussels Federation, the Francophone interviewed at the C.S.C. preferred to have sessions by the smallest possible region, as did the Flemish respondent. The Brussels member favored organizing the sessions according to the way that they would be most effectively administered. Linguistic parity is maintained for organizing and administering these services.

The position of the C.S.C. with respect to *external objectives* was revealed by a series of questions which focused on: 1. The Major Strike which took place in Belgium from December 1960 to January 1961 (See below question number 2, the F.G.T.B. for further details); 2. The degree of federalist tendencies within the various levels of the union as perceived by those interviewed; and 3. An open question asking for thoughts and opinions of the linguistic conflict in general.

For the Centrals, the majority said that the strike in 1960-1961 had not had an adverse effect and that on the whole, there was no strong movement among members for federalism in the Centrals or in the country. As for assessing the French/Flemish conflicts in general, a variety of reasons were cited, among which were the historic conditions from which the present situation has evolved, the problem of Brussels, and the economic situation in the country, (with Francophones expressing concern over the decline of industry in Wallonia.). However, the response which was expressed most often was the need for union solidarity.

The same tendency - union solidarity - was also found in the Brussels Federation. When asked if the 1960 strike had shaken the unity of the Federation, the Flemish respondent replied: "No, quite the contrary, because we did not become involved in politics, and since that time our membership has greatly increased."; and the Francophone replied: "No, we are "syndicalistes ouvriéristes" (concerned with workers' problems) before being concerned with linguistic troubles." (Laurent-Reynoso, pp. 72-73). Regarding federalization, the Flemish respondent alluded to the difficulties of such a structure for the union movement, while the Francophone was openly in favor of it. This was clarified in his opinion of the language conflicts in general: "I am above all Christian, then worker, then "linguistic". If federalization can raise the life of the working class, I am for federalization . . ." (Laurent-Reynoso, p. 74) The Flemish respondent also expressed concern over these conflicts in view of the need for worker solidarity.

The responses of the national C.S.C. members echoed those of the Centrals and the Brussels Federation: a unified syndicat organization is the most effective way for workers to present their demands and grievances to management which very often is more national than regional, and even more international than national. (Laurent-Reynoso, pp. 84-85) All three national staff members (one born in Brussels, one born in Flanders, and one in Wallonia) agreed that extreme solutions were not the best for the union movement. (Laurent-Reynoso, pp. 84-85)

Thus, as Laurent-Reynoso concluded: "In Belgium, the actual unity of the union movement is most important. The priority given to professional (utilitarian) objectives of the workers overcomes the antagonisms and compromises are sought at all levels." (Laurent-Reynoso, p. 112) Even though there are small factions within the C.S.C. at various levels which are favorable to a federalized union and a federalized country, the majority of C.S.C. leaders interviewed felt that as a union, workers' rights were the primary concern and they were best pursued within the context of a unified organization.

B. The F.G.T.B.

As was done in the C.S.C., interviews were conducted at three different levels of the F.G.T.B.: twelve (of the thirteen) Centrals, the Brussels-Hal-Vilvorde Regional, and the national F.G.T.B.

In the Centrals, at smaller meetings, five said that they tend to use French more often than Dutch, 2 used only Dutch and four used both languages with or without translation. For large meetings, (the National Committee and the Congress), two Centrals whose membership is more than 90% Dutch, use only Dutch at their meetings. The majority of other Centrals used both languages with simultaneous translation for such meetings.

Written communication with the regionals was based on the language of the regional being written to, except for the Diamond Workers' Central, being predominantly Flemish, writes in Dutch. In writing to management, and government representatives, five Centrals write in the language of the person receiving the letter. The Diamond Workers' Central uses Dutch except when writing to a unilingual Francophone. The six remaining Centrals said more often in French, but two mentioned that this tendency was changing so that both languages could be used where applicable.

In the Brussels-Hal-Vilvorde Regional, at both large and small meetings, each person speaks his owr language. A certain tendency toward French did exist as the Secretary General at the time of the inquiry was a Francophone. In writing to the professional sections, the language used depended on who was writing the letter. With management and government representatives, the language of the person being written to is the one used.

In general, the Centrals have taken care to eliminate problems of *communication* and *coordination* when pursuing *utilitarian objectives*. The directors are usually bilingual and do not align themselves with one particular linguistic group. Publications are bilingual and meetings, especially larger ones, have simultaneous translation. By insuring that the majority of members are satisfied with the level of *communication*, the pursuit of the all-important *utilitarian objectives* is not impeded.

Ten of the twelve Centrals questioned had some type of *educational* sessions. In two, the sessions were bilingual with translation and were organized on the national level. Two others held separate sessions for each group. The Diamond Workers union, being almost totally Flemish, had sessions only in Dutch. The five remaining Centrals offering such services preferred a combination of approaches either with both language groups together aided by translation, or separately by linguistic group, depending on the subject to be taught.

Eleven Centrals responded to the question which asked if they preferred that educational sessions be organized nationally, regionally or locally. (One Central did not have such sessions.) Four preferred national educational meetings, one preferred them by linguistic region, and two said locally. The purpose of the meeting determined the type of organization in the 4 remaining Centrals.

Five Centrals had no one person in charge of organizing educational sessions. In the remaining 7, four had Flemish members in charge, two had Francophone members in charge, and one had a Fleming and a Francophone member in charge.

For the Brussels-Hal-Vilvorde Regional, the type of sessions offered, again depends on what is to be achieved. "It depends on the Centrals and the students. In one case, for Hal, they are bilingual. In matters of formation (education), they are usually separated by linguistic group. They take place separately more in the periphery than in the center" (Rochon, p. 72). The person responsible for these sessions was, at that time, a bilingual Francophone.

In general, contrary to the C.S.C., the directors of the Centrals of the F.G.T.B. seem to prefer that educational objectives be handled nationally, rather than regionally or locally. In order to avoid conflict, educational sessions with both linguistic groups present have simultaneous translation or separate discussions by linguistic group. Because caution is exercised in the organization and administration of educational objectives, the tensions which might be expected at the levels of *communication*, *coordination*, and *association* are avoided.

The pursuit of *external objectives* has caused the most tension for the F.G.T.B.. In response to questions suggesting the possibility of a federalized Central, union or country, the majority of Centrals admitted that although such sentiments may exist among members, it comprises a minority with the majority in favor of a unified organization as the most effective type of union.

When asked if the strike in December - January, 1960-1961 had shaken the unity of the Centrals, surprisingly, all but one said no. To the contrary, the Steelworkers Central said "yes, all the Centrals." (Rochon, p. 58) Rochon contributed this discrepancy of responses to the desire of those interviewed from the Centrals to present an image of unity. However, if one looks at the actual voting behavior in the Centrals at the time of the Congress in December of 1961, it can be seen that at least two unions were divided on which way to vote, namely the Steelworkers, and the Employees, "Techniciens, et Cadres" Centrals. (Rochon, p. 59)

When asked if they participated in the National Council of Economic Policy of the F.G.T.B., only the Diamond Workers said "No", contending it was only for the larger Centrals. However, the Belgian Federation of Entertainment, one of the smaller Centrals, does participate in it.

Eleven out of 12 Centrals said they were favorable to the Common Action. The Book Industry Central said, "We are not too favorable to the integration of the (union) movement to any political organization. Whatever party is in power, we want to have our hands free." (Representative of the Book Industry Central in Rochon, p. 63)

The opinion of a large majority of Centrals on the Flemish/Walloon conflict was that such conflicts are unfortunate and contrary to the movement. Once again, priority was given to union solidarity as the most efficient and effective way for workers to be organized.

The Brussels-Hal-Vilvorde Federation was also devoted to the same priority: neither is a federalized structure sought after, nor would it be preferred. In 1960, this Federation abstained from voting on the strike proposal, evidence of its unwillingness to be divided. This Regional does participate at the National Council of Economic Policy of the F.G.T.B. and supports both the French and Flemish movements of the Common Action. In general, this Federation considers such problems between the linguistic groups as political and are not of interest to the union.

For the national staff of the F.G.T.B., the Walloon respondent said that although more autonomy had been granted to the regions, the desire for federalism only exists among a small minority. Regarding a federalized Belgium, an existence of such tendencies was perceived, especially among the Walloons. (Walloon Representative on the national F.G.T.B., in Rochon, p. 77) It was also admitted that the 1960-61 strike had shaken the unity of the F.G.T.B.; however, compromises were made which helped to preserve the unity. When asked their opinions of the French/Flemish conflicts in Belgium, both the Walloon and Flemish respondents of the F.G.T.B. alluded to the need for a unified organization which recognized the need for compromises when dealing with two linguistic groups (Rochon, p. 78)

C. The C.G.S.L.B.

Given that the structure of the C.G.S.L.B. does not include the various divisions found within the C.S.C. and the F.G.T.B., interviews were conducted among 6 secretaries of local and regional sections, who represented the link

between the general membership on the one hand and the union direction on the other. These sections were in charge of linguistically heterogeneous groups which would, of course, be more likely to experience intergroup conflict. In addition, several staff members of the national C.G.S.L.B. were also interviewed.

In pursuing *utilitarian objectives*, committee meetings of a section are held in the language of the majority of members and are bilingual where both groups have sufficient command of the language. The larger meetings (The Congress and General Assembly) are held in Dutch with simultaneous translation in French. If, by chance, previous arrangements have not been made for translation services, (particularly for smaller meetings) someone in attendance is usually available to translate.

Written communication is handled with equal caution, respecting each linguistic group. The secretaries of Francophone sections usually write to their members in French, relying on Flemish members to be bilingual. Some, however, do write in both French and Dutch. The secretaries of the Flemish sections follow the same procedure. Most secretaries, however, issue bilingual circulars either by sending out all circulars in both languages or sending out a French edition to Francophone members and a Dutch edition to Flemish members. In writing to management and government, two out of the six sections interviewed used only French. The four remaining sections wrote in the language of the person being written to. The periodicals - De Liberale Syndicalist and Le Syndicaliste Libéral (The Liberal Unionist) - are available to all members in the language of their choice.

In the S.L.F.P., the public service wing of the C.G.S.L.B., there is a tendency to use French more than Dutch at the committee meetings for professional groups. This is attributed to the fact that most Flemish people can at least understand French, if not speak it. For the upper level meetings (Comité Directeur) both languages are used but without translation. In this case, translation by fellow members is relied on.

Written communication from the Committee to the regional and local sections depends on the language of the regional and/or local. In writing to governement representatives, those having occasion for such communication either do so in the language of the person being addressed or, more adamantly, in his/her own language. Both language groups have their own journal, i.e. Le Combat Syndical-De Syndikale Strijd (The Union Fight).

Thus, for both the C.G.S.L.B. and the S.L.F.P. problems of *communication* in the pursuit utilitarian objectives have been avoided in a variety of ways: in recognizing the need for caution in this area, translation services are generally provided where needed and where possible. Publications of various kinds are bilingual or issued in the language of the individual subscriber, i.e. in Dutch for Flemish members and French for Walloons. In addition, staff members are generally bilingual. Such measures have prevented the occurrence of linguistic conflict which might otherwise have occurred at this level in the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives*.

The pursuit of *educational objectives* is handled by the "Ecole des Cadres" for the C.G.S.L.B. One person is responsible for organizing educational sessions in various towns and always in only one language, regardless of whether or not there are members of the other linguistic group in that town. The courses are given by instructors who travel from one town to another, as needed. While the courses are unilingual, publications of the school are issued in both languages. It should be noted, however, that of the six sections interviewed, only one had such courses in its town, and

in this case they were only in French, whereas membership was roughly 40% Flemish. In another case, union members were able to attend courses in a neighboring town; otherwise, the members of the other sections were obliged to travel a rather large distance if they wished to take advantage of such sessions at all. This unequal accessibility of all members to the educational courses did not seem to incite any antagonisms, however. (Liénart, 68-74)

In addition to educational objectives of a utilitarian nature, the C.G.S.L.B. also provides informative sessions oriented toward sociocultural themes (e.g. Industrial Pollution). Such sessions are administered by a lecturer in various towns where interest warrants them.

Educational objectives of the S.L.F.P. are pursued within the framework of the "Centre d'étude, d'action et de formation des Cadres." This Center, having the status of "non-profit making organization", is fairly autonomous from the S.L.F.P., which handles the administrative work of the Centre. The courses of the Centre are administered somewhat like those of the "Ecole des Cadres" of the C.G.S.L.B., i.e. in various regions by "visiting instructors". The main difference in the courses lies in the fact that the Centre of the S.L.F.P. is able to organize courses on a professional basis, whereas the "Ecole des Cadres" of the C.G.S.L.B. is unable to do so because it has no professional level. (Liénart, p. 123)

In general, none of the interviews conducted in the C.G.S.L.B. or the S.L.F.P. revealed any conflict in the pursuit of educational objectives, at any level, even though, educational sessions are not necessarily equally available to each linguistic group. Liénart explained this complacency of the linguistic groups by the willingness among members to travel to different towns in order to benefit from courses in the other language. Although Liénart alluded to scattered complaints issued about the courses, his overall findings were that at no point were such complaints organized in the form of a movement threatening the existence of the courses or their type of organization.

The third and final objective pursued by the union is that of *external objectives*. Liénart asked a series of questions similar to those asked of the C.S.C. and the F.G.T.B., i.e. opinions about federalism and the linguistic conflict in Belgium; in addition, he also described in more detail the relationship between the C.G.S.L.B. and the Liberal Party (P.L.P.) The following is a summary of his findings.

In the six sections interviewed, only one secretary was favorable, for personal reasons, to splitting the C.G.S.L.B. along linguistic lines. In addition, the 1960-61 strike which was quite troublesome for the F.G.T.B., had virtually no effect on the C.G.S.L.B. According to Liénart, the C.G.S.L.B. sees such action as part of the "political world", and is consequently of no interest to the union organization, whose primary function is to satisfy the utilitarian needs of its members.

The staff members of the national C.G.S.L.B. were equally opposed to a federalized structure in Belgium. In their opinion, a federalized Belgium would only create problems for the union whose expressed desire is not to be divided along linguistic lines.

Secretaries in five of the six sections interviewed expressed their opposition to the language troubles in Belgium. Two types of responses were given: 1. That the conflicts were sustained by militant minority groups and do not express a general opinion; and 2. Union solidarity is of primary concern - language troubles are of interest only to politicians.

Finally, the interviews revealed that in actuality, there seems to be little association between the C.G.S.L.B. and the Liberal Party. For the most part, the secretaries interviewed felt that the union and the political party should necessarily be separated. Reasons for this varied: either it was felt that the political party was opposed to unionism in general or it was seen as impractical for the union with its highly unified structure, to officially align itself to the Liberal Party, which is divided along linguistic lines.

The position of the S.L.F.P. with regard to external objectives was similar to that of the C.G.S.L.P. Federalism was not seen as a beneficial structure for the S.L.F.P. or for Belgium. There is, however, reason for some caution as some of the presidents of the professional groups interviewed admitted to having members who favor federal solutions. This militant undercurrent, however, has never caused problems for the union. (Liénart, p. 126)

The general opinion of the presidents of the professional groups interviewed was that union matters, i.e. utilitarian objectives, are of the utmost importance. This was again reflected to some extent in the response of certain presidents to questions about actual political affiliation and following. For the most part, there is a desire to be independent of political affiliation. There was more of a tendency, however, for those interviewed of the S.L.F.P. to consider the possibility of allegiance to the Liberal Party (Liénart, 131-133)

In general, the unitary structure of the C.G.S.L.B. and the S.L.F.P. did not seem to be a source of conflict between the linguistic groups. The impression given by those interviewed was that the members were basically satisfied with the functioning of the union, i.e. with the pursuit of utilitarian objectives. This satisfaction was strong enough to suppress the latent conflictual tendencies that do exist for some members.

2. How are flexible structural relations between the linguistic groups established so that they can be modified when the objectives of one of the two linguistic groups changes?

A. <u>The C.S.C.</u>

In answering question number one, we saw in the C.S.C. the types of structural relations established between the linguistic groups in the pursuit of the three main objectives: *utilitarian, educational,* and *external.* In the pursuit of each of these objectives the four structural levels were essentially "conflict free" due to certain measures employed that appear to have avoided conflict. In this portion of our analysis, we shall now focus on what becomes of these structures when the objectives of one linguistic group are altered or changed in any way.

The need for a flexible structure in the C.S.C. can be best illustrated by looking at the National Central of Employees, which, at that time, was the only Central in the C.S.C. which had been split in two along linguistic lines: Centrale Nationale des Employees (C.N.E.)- Landelijke Bedienden Centrale (L.B.C.) When asked why the Central had been split, the following answers were given:

"Fleming - The Central was 'federalized' because of Antwerp and East Flanders who wanted a structure that gave them more guarantees.

> Francophone - . . . because the Walloons are Latins and the Flemings are Germanic; the differences in mentality are very strong. Industrialization occurred at different times. In Flanders, socialist thinking developed later than in Wallonia; consequently, differences (between the linguistic groups) developed in matters of the organization of society; thus, the problem was regionalized in 1932." (Members of the Employees Central in Laurent-Reynoso, p. 63)

As can be seen from these two responses, the former unified structure of the C.N.E. was unsatisfactory, especially to the Flemish membership. In response to the needs and objectives envisioned by them, a separate structure was adopted.

When asked their opinions of linguistic problems in Belgium, the responses were as follows:

> "Fleming - The problem is not a community problem but a social problem." He went on to emphasize the historic origins of the problem: "It's for this reason that the interests of Flemings must be defended in Flanders. Our goal is Flemish predominance in (or the 'Flamandisation' of) economic life."

> "Francophone - They are regrettable because they don't exist and they create new jobs that aren't necessary in order to have linguistic parity or equilibrium; it's the politicians who incite them in order to have personal promotion." (Members of the Employees Central in Laurent-Reynoso, p. 66)

The contrast between the responses given to the two preceeding questions illustrates Meisel and Lemieux's contention that linguistic (and ethnic) groups may differ in their approach to and philosophy of the various objectives intrinsic to the functioning of the organization. When such differences come to oppose one another, a unified structure may no longer satisfy the members' needs, in which case, a split may occur between the groups so that each has control over its own future, as what happened in the C.N.E.-L.B.C., for example.

It is important to realize, however, that the "federalization" of one Central did not jeopordize its position within the C.S.C.' nor did it immediately jeopordize the structure of the other Centrals or of the C.S.C. itself, all of which retained their unitary structure at that time.

In talking about the future, the Flemish and French staff members interviewed by Laurent-Reynoso in the C.N.E.-L.B.C. expressed somewhat similar views when asked if they felt that the other Centrals would remain unified. The Fleming felt 'yes, on the basis of workers' solidarity but admitted that there may be more separation, due to a trend toward economic regionalization. The Francophone contradicted this somewhat by saying that he felt that some Centrals would support being "federalized". Similar ideas appeared again in Laurent-Reynoso's conclusion when she quoted "La C.S.C., Responsable de l'Avenir": "The C.S.C. wonders if the preoccupation towards economic regionalization must necessarily create new union structures corresponding to the linguistic communities. In the opinion of the C.S.C., a board on regional economic life ("organe de concertation") that would

coincide with the linguistic communities would not signify a rupture in the fundamental unity of the conception of the syndicate with regard to all of the economic and social problems." ("C.S.C., Responsable de l'Avenir", in Laurent-Reynoso, p. 114) From this, Laurent-Reynoso concluded: "The C.S.C. forsees the adaptation of the modes of relations at the level of *association*, in order to permit each language community to pursue objectives which are not strictly professional, but, in preserving its confederate structure 'which must integrate the decisions made on both sides (of the language frontier) into some sort of constructive dialogue.' "(Laurent-Reynoso, p. 114)

Thus, on the basis of our question number two, the C.S.C., appears to recognize the need for a flexible structure which allows both linguistic groups to pursue certain objectives separately, yet preserving their unified structure.

B. F.G.T.B.

The need for flexible structural relations in the F.G.T.B. is best seen by looking at the circumstances which surrounded the major strike from December of 1960 to January of 1961, including the changes which came about in the structure of the F.G.T.B. as a result of this strike.

Briefly[5], A. Renard, who was at that time Deputy Secretary General of the F.G.T.B., and President of the Liége Regional, put forth a motion to strike in protest of "La Loi Unique", i.e. an all encompassing law on industrial relations. A split developed within the union along linguistic lines. Most of the Walloons rallied around Renard, who demanded the strike in order to oppose the "Loi Unique" and to introduce structural reforms in Belgian economic life. The Flemings generally supported L. Major (Flemish Secretary General at that time) who was opposed to the strike. Although the motion to strike was defeated, the majority of the Walloons and a minority of Flemings decided to strike anyway. In an effort to preserve unity in the F.G.T.B., the National Committee issued an order to strike; however, the strike did not succeed in Flanders.

Finally, the Walloons demanded that the F.G.T.B. be federalized into Flemish and Walloon wings. To investigate this demand, the F.G.T.B. set up the "Commission des dix-huit", composed of nine Flemings and nine Walloons. This Commission rejected Renard's project to split the F.G.T.B., although they eventually accepted the proposal for linguistic parity in the various levels of direction. It was not until the Congress of June 21 and 22, 1963 that the issue was finally resolved by the adoption of "An agreement on a transitory regime permitting temporary derogation of the statutes" or "le protocole d'accord." This agreement 1. established linguistic parity in the Bureau and Secretariat, 2. required that in order for a motion to be passed in the National Committee, it must receive two thirds of the votes cast or 50% from each linguistic group, and finally, 3. established two commissions, one for each linguistic group, to be in charge of education, youth, staff, recruitment, and information.

"On May 9, 1967, the Bureau of the F.G.T.B. proposed the creation of a committee that would look into the following problems: the structures of the F.G.T.B., the Composition and membership of the Secretariat and the designation of a new Secretary General. (This committee was created.) Two of the three demands of the Walloon regionals were accepted: 1. that there no longer be one economic policy of the F.G.T.B. defined only by the Bureau but a synthesis of economic policies prepared by each linguistic community,

each one knowing its own particular economic conditions, and 2. that the 1963 agreement (protocole d'accord) on the budgets of the linguistic groups for education and the press be applied. The third more general demand (that the ruling bodies be composed of 50% of representatives from the Centrals and 50% from the Flemish, Walloon and Brussel's regionals) was rejected." (Rochon, p. 26) Along with these rights, the Regional Federations were also permitted to form interregionals based on linguistic grouping in order to evaluate the economic situation prevailing in each linguistic region. Also formed, was a committee known as the National Council of Economic Policy, which was composed of four members designated by the Walloon Regionals four from the Flemish, one from the Brussels Regional, nine representatives from the Centrals and the F.G.T.B. Secretariat. All of these measures were officially approved at a "statutary congress" in April, 1968.

The series of crises described above could have been fatal to the unitary structure of the F.G.T.B., i.e. the level of association. Once the form of *association* was modified to give each linguistic group more autonomy, however, the level of *representation* was also modified which resulted in the preservation of a unified structure. This can be best summarized by Rochon who concluded: "There are no more precise and official demands from one linguistic group. The new structures are favorable to reaching a compromise and incite the groups to listen to each other in order to avoid public confrontation. The majority appears to be satisfied with the established structural relations which are considered flexible enough to permit each linguistic group to pursue its own objectives. The levels of *coordination* and *association* between the linguistic groups are rigid in pursuing *professional* (utilitarian) *objectives*, more flexible in pursuing *educational objectives*, and very flexible in the pursuit of *external objectives*. The mode of representation is considered satisfactory for each linguistic group. All the structural relations have been established in terms of the pursued objectives, which are flexible if the objectives are perceived as being different by each linguistic group (*economic objectives*) and are rigid if the objectives are seen as identical (*utilitarian objectives*)." (Rochon, p. 88)

C. The C.G.S.L.B.

The C.G.S.L.B. along with the S.L.F.P., being the only major union organizations with a highly centralized structure, have yet to be confronted with divisions along linguistic lines as those found in the C.S.C. and the F.G.T.B., i.e. there was no indication in the report by Liénart that the C.G.S.L.B. or the S.L.F.P. has had to alter its structure in response to differences in the demands of one linguistic group in relation to another. As surprising as it may be in a country where linguistic tensions have had implications, at least occasionally, for all facets of society, the C.G.S.L.B. has managed to avoid such conflicts with a structure which very possibly could be highly susceptable to conflict. An unquestionable dedication to utilitarian objectives, a small membership (that is predominantly Flemish) and an insistance on a bilingual president and linguistic parity for the other official positions of the C.G.S.L.B. have all helped to keep the members satisfied with the unitary structure. In addition, care has been taken not to favor *external* (political) *objectives* which are recognized by the leaders of the C.G.S.L.B. as most likely to create problems at all levels of the organization, especially the level of *association*.

The fact that the C.G.S.L.B. has been able to avoid conflicts between the linguistic groups in the past, does not necessarily mean, however, that in the future some of the more latent antagonisms which did surface in the interviews with the various C.G.S.L.B. personnel will not come to be a major issue to which the organization will have to respond.

3. When a problem exists at an inferior structural level, it is generally necessary to find its solution at a superior level.

If we look once again to the conflicts which have arisen in the C.S.C. and the F.G.T.B. (as described above) this assumption is clearly illustrated. In both cases, problems at the levels of *communication*, *coordination*, and *representation* were aggravated or eliminated, depending on the objective being considered, by the type of *association* which was established between the linguistic groups.

In the F.G.T.B., "the Walloon Regionals, because the *coordination* in the pursuit of *educational* and *external objectives* was done nationally and was very centralized, put in question this type of *coordination* and *association* between the linguistic groups. To solve the problems of *coordination*, the levels of *representation* and *association* were made more flexible, thus allowing the linguistic groups to make better known the orientation that they wanted to give to *educational* and *external objectives* and to pursue them separately in the case of *economic objectives*." (Rochon, p. 90)

Laurent-Reynoso's interpretation of this assumption can be represented by the following:

level of communication	level of coordination	level of representation	level of association

cooperation ⟵ ⟶ conflict

Equal representation of both linguistic groups is highly dependent on the type of *association* established between the groups. *Coordination* in both languages can not occur if there are not bilingual representatives from each linguistic group, and satisfactory written and oral *communication* can only result when the levels superior to it have been organized in such a way so as to provide bilingual services, publications, simultaneous translation, etc. By employing various measures to correct the *representation* of the linguistic groups, the necessary precautions are taken to avoid conflict at the lower levels of *communication* and *coordination*.

NOTES

PART TWO

1. It should be realized that there are several smaller union organizations; however, they represent an extremely small percentage of unionized Belgians and consequently will not be discussed here.
2. In his article, Lorwin translated the official names of the main union organizations into English. We have chosen to use his translations and have included the official French name and abbreviation because they appeared as such in the original reports of Laurent-Reynoso, Rochon, and Liénart. To conserve space, we will hereafter refer to these organizations by their French abbreviations.
3. The Brussels Dristrict of the C.S.C. includes 125 municipalities around Brussels, but not necessarily the same as the F.G.T.B. Generally, it extends farther east than the F.G.T.B. to include the municipalities of Duisburg, Erps-Kwerps, Everberg, Leefdaal Tervuren, and Vossem.
4. The F.G.T.B. extends farther west than the C.S.C. and includes the Brussels-Hal-Vilvorde administrative area.
5. This brief summary was taken from Rochon, pp. 15-28.

CONCLUSIONS

With the presentation of the relationship between the linguistic groups in Canadian and Belgian labor unions now complete, we are left with the task of comparing the situations which exist in each union movement in order to formulate the generalities about organizational linguistic conflict mentioned in the Introduction. To preserve continuity, it seems logical that any conclusions should result from a comparison of both situations within the framework of the three assumptions that were initially used to describe the relations existing between the linguistic groups. Thus, we shall proceed as before, i.e. by first comparing the types of structures demanded by the pursuit of the various objectives, then examining the need for flexibility and finally, the role of the structural levels in resolving linguistic conflict.

1. The structural relations established between the linguistic groups must be congruent with the pursued objectives.

Any comparison of the Belgian and Canadian labor union movements and the relationship between the linguistic groups found within would be incomplete without first discussing the most basic and fundamental of all differences between the two movements, i.e. the Belgian system based on "free choice" of union affiliation versus the North American system of only one union per enterprise or industry. These two very different approaches to overall union organization not only ultimately influence the types of relations that *are* established between the linguistic groups but also set certain limitations on the types of relations that possibly *could be* established.

On the basis of the evidence presented within this present report, it appears evident that, at least at the time of Verdoodt's report, linguistic relations in the Canadian union movement were characterized by a high degree of instability and tension which resulted in open confrontation between English and French Canadians. (This was especially true for the Q.F.L. and the C.L.C.) In contrast, with the exception of a few isolated clashes, the situation between the French and Dutch in Belgian unions appears much more stable with the attitude of most Belgian unionists being that the union movement is no place for linguistic tensions. Accepting this observation, it seems appropriate to then ask if this difference in the amount of prevailing conflict is not due, at least in part, to the differences between the two union movements in general.

When a Belgian decides to join a union, he has three options open to him: the C.S.C., the F.G.T.B., and the C.G.S.L.B. The C.S.C. and the F.G.T.B., although similar in their basic structure, do tend to differ somewhat in their approach to various issues, including linguistic ones. The C.G.S.L.B., with its highly centralized structure, satisfies the needs of those who prefer that type of structure over the other two. In any case, the Belgian is free to decide which union structure (and which stand on certain issues) best coincides with his own needs and attitudes and makes his choice accordingly.

In Canada, however, this is not the case. Because only one union per enterprise is allowed by law, an individual seeking employment in a particular enterprise which already has a union must affiliate himself with that union. Thus, regardless of whether or not the policies and positions adopted by this union are agreeable to the prospective member, he normally must join it. This has disturbing implications for the Quebecois especially.

Because a large number of Canadian unions are actually only divisions of a larger, U.S. based operation, and because the Canadian population itself is predominantly Anglophone, the francophone suddenly finds himself confronted with an organization dominated by anglophones. With no other option to choose from, his situation may at once become confining and frustrating.

Thus, the relations between the linguistic groups are, to some extent, predetermined by the general shape of unionism found within each country. To see just how much influence this overall structure has on intergroup relations, we shall now compare the state of linguistic relations in the two union movements in the pursuit of *utilitarian*, *educational*, and *external objectives*.

It cannot be denied that in both Canada and Belgium, the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives* is the essential function of the union movement. However, what is questionable is the amount of emphasis union leaders (and members) place on these objectives. In Canada, at the time of Verdoodt's report, the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives*, very definately had linguistic overtones, i.e. it was asserted by the Q.F.L. and even some of the Quebec locals of international unions (e.g. United Steelworkers of America) that the utilitarian aims of Quebec unions should be designed and administered by "les Québécois". Because this had not been the case, certain political objectives were undertaken to achieve this situation. The Q.F.L., as spokesman for the Francophones, demanded increased autonomy and decentralization to ensure the availability of bilingual services (or even the inauguration of unilingual French services), bilingual or French publications, translation services, etc. In general, the nationalist tendencies in Quebec have to some degree politicized the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives*.

In Belgium, the desire for union solidarity and a devotion to strictly *utilitarian objectives* seemed to prevail. Every effort was made to respect both languages. Publications of all types were either bilingual or issued according to the language of the recipient. Thus, *communication* was not a problem. Vertical communication, or *coordination* posed no real problems either as leaders were basically able to use their own language if they preferred. Unlike the Canadian situation, there was no organized movement devoted to splitting the unions along linguistic lines - at least for the pursuit of *utilitarian objectives*.

The pursuit of *educational objectives* provides a good illustration of our earlier remarks concerning the effect which the general structure of the union movement has on the structural relations formed between the linguistic groups in the pursuit of the various objectives. In both societies, tension and conflict were present when *educational objectives* were pursued within the confines of a highly centralized structure, i.e. with one exception - the C.G.S.L.B. Not only were educational sessions in this union organized and administered at the national level, but also no special provisions were made to compensate for the possible bilingual composition of the sessions. The fact that no conflict resulted from such a system deserves comment, especially considering that when educational objectives were pursued similarly in the C.L.C., C.S.C., and the F.G.T.B., major divisions occured between the linguistic groups. Why has the C.G.S.L.B. been spared similar pleas for decentralization of *educational objectives* (among others)? Granted, its smaller, more linguistically homogeneous membership (60-65% Flemish) could have a positive influence on its present structure. But what if such a structure were imposed on the members, rather than it being a matter of free choice? Certainly A. Renard, who favored a federalized structure for

the F.G.T.B., would not have accepted such a system acquiescently. Is it not then understandable that the "A. Renard's" of the Canadian movement would react in defiance of such a system being imposed on them? This is a clear illustration that the approach to unionism in each country influences the type of relations established between the linguistic groups and eventually the presence of linguistic conflict. It is our conclusion, however, that although the C.G.S.L.B. has managed to survive with its present structure, the pursuit of educational objectives is best obtained by each linguistic group separately, rather than collectively; otherwise, it is unlikely that the primary purpose of such objectives, i.e. to teach and inform, will be achieved, at least to its maximum effectiveness.

There remains one final objective to be considered - *external objectives*. In both Canada and Belgium, when external objectives were given high priority, conflict between the linguistic groups was practically inevitable. We need not repeat all the details of the relationship between the Q.F.L. and the C.L.C. when the former entered the political arena, i.e. when the Q.F.L. became the spokesman for the Quebec francophones and the promoter of "l'identité québécoise". Nor is it necessary to restate all of the circumstances of the December 1960-January 1961 strike in the F.G.T.B., a situation which took nearly a decade to resolve. What is important about both these incidents is their outcomes. Once the type of *association* existing between the linguistic groups was put in question, the overall structure of the union was jeopardized. A redefinition of the structural arrangements between the two groups had to be made in order to restore peaceful relations. (In effect, it is debatable whether or not such a situation has as yet been obtained in Canada.[2]) Starting with the level of association, such structural alterations had implications for all levels of the organization. In the case of the F.G.T.B., the result was a change in the form of *representation*, i.e. linguistic parity was established in the Bureau and the Secretariat. A change in the *association* shared between the two linguistic groups resulted in new organs that guaranteed the linguistic regions a forum for expressing concerns about their particular region.

Another important aspect of external (political) objectives is the effect which these objectives have on the other objectives. We have already said that when the Q.F.L. began to extend itself beyond its utilitarian function, utilitarian objectives became politicized as well. This illustrates the dynamic effect which external political objectives can have on all aspects of the union movement, and ultimately relations between the linguistic groups. Whether or not the force with which they are pursued is the result of a charismatic personality who captures the respect and following of one group (e.g. A. Renard), or is the result of an ideology or belief that has captivated a given population (e.g. Quebec nationalism) or a combination of these two, from the evidence presented earlier, it seems unlikely that the external objectives pursued by one linguistic group could ever be perseveringly pursued by this group without causing some sort of conflict, and moreover, whether or not they could be pursued as such without placing priority on external objectives, and not utilitarian ones. This is not to say that utiltarian objectives are neglected entirely in the pursuit of external aims. Actually, what seems to take place is that *external objectives* are embarked upon to enhance *utilitarian objectives*. In other words, within the labor union, when members of one linguistic group begin to feel threatened or dissatisfied with the pursuit of utilitarian aims for their group as they stand, an increased concentration on external objectives is perceived

as the most effective way to bring about the desired structural changes which ultimately aim to improve the ability of the dissatisfied linguistic group to pursue *utilitarian objectives.*

2. The structural relations established between the linguistic groups must be flexible so that they can be modified when the objectives of one of the linguistic groups change.

We have already illustrated this assumption numerous times, both in the discussion of the individual union movements, and in the previous question. Therefore, in order to avoid useless repetition, we shall now mention only the more salient points relevant to this discussion.

It may not be a monumental observation that when dealing with an organization composed of two linguistic groups, (who may or may not vary in their conception of the pursuit of the various defined objectives), that any structure hoping to support such dualism would have to have a certain degree of flexibility built into its present structure lest this structure be jeopardized when the content and hierarchy of the pursued objectives are not the same for both linguistic groups. While this may be a fairly straightforward observation, why is it not so easily achieved between the linguistic groups? There are numerous possibilities to answer this question. The one of particular interest to this report is the way linguistic tensions between groups is affected by the structural levels created in pursuing the various objectives, and more specifically, the importance of flexible structures in appeasing one or both groups. The level of association is particularly important here. If the overall relationship between the linguistic groups is flexible enough, compromises are more likely to be worked out and the level of association maintained, with perhaps minor alterations. This seems to have been the case in the F.G.T.B. during its critical period in the 1960's. The conception of both linguistic groups in the pursuit of utilitarian objectives was considered similar enough to continue pursuing them collectively. Nevertheless, antagonisms resulting from the more political aims being pursued at that time had to be dealt with structurally, otherwise the severing of all relations between the groups could have occurred. As a result, more autonomy was granted the regions so that each group was assured that the needs of their linguistic region would not be overlooked.

The situation in Quebec unions, at least at the time of the study under scrutiny, was much less definitive.* In the first place, the need for flexible structures placed demands on the Canadian union movement (from the C.L.C. on down) and also has implications for the international structure of individual unions as well. While the Q.F.L. vigorously pursued the demands specific to the Québec francophones, the relationship of individual local and regional sections of an international union to its international headquarters seemed somewhat precarious. Little compensation for or interest in the francophone membership, which is such a small percentage of the total union membership, leaves these sections with two options: 1. To accept their minority position and continue their affiliation to the international union as before; or 2. If they do not receive the special attention deemed necessary, they may sever all ties with the international organization. The latter option has already been chosen by the Canadian Paper Workers' Union. Whether or not other unions will follow depends on the international union's ability to recognize the needs of the Quebec francophone and thereby adjust their structures accordingly.

* See Verdoodt, Albert. *Relations entre anglophones et francophones dans les syndicats québécois.* Québec, CIRB, 1970, p. 216.

3. When a problem exists at an inferior structural level, it is generally necessary to find its solution at a superior level.

The evidence available on Canadian and Belgian unions verifies this assumption. In both union movements, problems of *communication* and *coordination*, when present, were the result of insufficient *representation* of one linguistic group and/or the type of *association* existing between the two groups. Once the appropriated structural reforms were inaugurated, lines of communication and coordination, in most cases, adapted the character of the new arrangement, i.e. each person was usually free to employ the language of his choice.

This concludes our general comparison of linguistic conflicts in Belgian and Canadian unions. From this comparison, we draw the following general conclusions:

1. In Canada and Belgium, the difference in prevailing conflict between the linguistic groups results from the difference in the overall organization of the two union movements.
2. The Canadian system, being largely adopted from the United States (who caters to an almost totally linguistically homogenous population of Anglophones) is finding it increasingly difficult to adapt this system to the needs of a bilingual membership.
3. The Belgian system, giving the union members freedom to choose from three main organizations, has created an atmosphere where linguistic conflict is negligible.
4. When satisfactory relations exist between the groups it is most likely that the union will place highest priority on the pursuit of utilitarian objectives. When these relations are unsatisfactory, political objectives intervene to promote the demands of the displeased group. Such objectives generally aim at structural reforms, especially the level of representation and association. Once such reforms are realized, a return to utilitarian aims is likely.
5. Each linguistic group places high priority on being able to name, appoint, elect, etc. their own representatives. In both Canada and Belgium, equal representation (linguistic parity) had been one of the main issues of conflict between the linguistic groups.
6. For an organization with bilingual membership, harmonious relations are encouraged by bilingual services, simultaneous translation, etc. It is important for all members to feel that they are free to use their own language, even though they may choose not to.
7. A bilingual union can support a centralized structure (C.G.S.L.B.) as long as all members are content with the pursuit of utilitarian objectives. Once external objectives become emphasized in favor of one linguistic group, decentralization is the likely outcome.
8. Educational objectives may be centralized or decentralized, provided that all members are in agreement with the chosen form.
9. In the union movement, the principle of "workers' solidarity" prevails as long as the rights of both linguistic groups are respected. When one linguistic group decides that its utilitarian needs are at a disadvantage, linguistic issues surface and act to divide the groups.

General Comments

There can be little doubt that any organization, labor union or otherwise, that is composed of more that one linguistic group, is faced with a delicate and challenging situation. As we have seen on the preceeding pages, the task of creating a union structure which is at once equally acceptable to both linguistic groups, i.e. that it is congruent with the objectives as perceived and pursued by each linguistic group is often so complex that one may wonder if continued association of both groups within one organization is really worth all the extra responsibilities it entails (e.g. translation services, bilingual publications, linguistic parity, etc.). In discussing voluntary associations, Meisel and Lemieux called this "the cost-benefit" relationship. In their words, "a realistic assessment of the benefits must include two kinds of 'measures': a weighting of the 'positive' advantages derived from contact and interaction and an estimate of the cost incurred." (Meisel and Lemieux, p. 291)

For the labor unions, we interpret the advantages resulting from an unified union movement as outweighing the special provisions needed to integrate two linguistic groups. However, we also contend that conditions within a particular union movement are not static, and therefore, linguistic relations require constant surveillance by responsible leaders of both groups. This is in line with Schermerhorn's belief that "integration is not an end-state, but a process. . ." (Schermerhorn, p. 14) "There are times when integration can only occur in and through conflict, and conversely, other times when conflict is necessary to reach a new order of integration." (Schermerhorn, p. 57-8) This is precisely what happens when the objectives of one linguistic group changes - the resulting integration is a product of intergroup confrontation.

What prospects for future relations between the linguistic groups can be speculated? Schermerhorn has said that confrontation often creates "new structures that contain and regularize such conflicts[3] without actually eliminating them." (Schermerhorn, p. 40) If, for example, we consider the numerous times that French and Flemish respondants in Belgian unions said that small minorities did exist which had strong opinions on linguistic issues, it seems a bit risky to say that these groups will never attempt to mobilize themselves and undermine the existing structures. This may very well happen if the union movements become the victim of what Hayakawa has called "cultural lag" or what results "when social institutions do not change in accordance with changing social realities." (Hayakawa, p. 300)

This concludes our investigation of linguistic conflict within the labor union movements of Belgium and Canada. After presenting a factual description of the situations found within the two union movements, a comparison was made to give inside information on the nature of organizational linguistic conflict. We have chosen to focus on the pursued objectives and the structural levels. Areas which we feel still need further attention are the attitudes and personalities of leaders and members to determine the influence of these elements on the likelihood of conflict. Such studies could only complement this present work in order to provide a complete picture of linguistic conflict within labor unions.

NOTES

PART THREE

1. In fact, when the smaller independent unions are considered, he has more than three options. He also, of course, has the option of not joining any union - a privilege the Canadian worker does not generally have when seeking employment from a firm or industry in which a union is already present.
2. In a recent conversation with Mr. Jean Marc Hudon of the Canadian Paper Workers' Union, he suggested that linguistic issues for the Q.F.L. are part of the past. Their primary interest, according to Mr. Hudon, lies in the area of utilitarian objectives.
3. The "conflicts" Schermerhorn refers to here are those which power conflict theorists feel are inevitable given the inequality of most interactions. (Schermerhorn, p. 40).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anon. *(La) C.S.C. - Responsable de l'Avenir.* C.S.C., Etudes Sociales et Economiques, Brussels, 1969, 302 p.

Argyris, C. "The Impact of the Formal Organization upon the Individual". *Organization Theory.* Pugh, D.S. ed. Penguin, London, 1975, pp. 261-277.

Benhamou-Hirtz, A. *Les Relations Collectives dans la Sidérurgie Américaine,* Paris, Colin, 1966, 407 p.

Brossard, M. *L'Idéologie économique de la F.T.Q.* Masters Thesis in Industrial Relations, University of Montreal, 1967, 300 p.

Ebertzheim, René. *Les Syndicats Ouvriers en Belgique.* Library of l'Ecole Supérieure de Sciences Commerciales et Economique of the University of Liège, 1959, 210 p.

Gerin-Lajoie, J. "Rapport du directeur à la 1ère assemblée annuelle des syndicats locaux du Québec." Montreal, 6 & 7 December, 1965, 58 p. polyc.

Gerin-Lajoie, J. "Rapport du directeur à la 2ème assemblée annuelle des syndicats locaux du Québec." Val d'Or, 14 & 15 October, 1966, 65 p. polyc.

Hayakawa, S.I. *Language in Thought and Action.* 2nd. ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964. 350 p.

Herremans, M.P. and Coppieters, F. *Le problème linguistique en Belgique.* Brussels. Belgian Institute for Information and Documentation, 1967, 23 p.

Innis, Hugh R. *Bilingualism and Biculturalism: An abridged version of the Royal Commission Report.* Ottawa, McClelland and Stewart, 1973, 186 p.

Laurent-Reynoso, Graciela. *Relations entre les groupes linguistiques à la Confédération des syndicats chrétiens.* Thesis presented for the degree of "Licence". Louvain-La-Neuve, Institut des Sciences Politiques et Sociales, 1975. 130 p.

Leavitt, H.J. "Some Effects of Certain Communication Patterns on Group Performance". *Organization Theory.* Pugh, D.S. ed. Penguin, London, 1975, pp. 72-97.

Liénart, Jean-Luc. *Des relations entre groupes socio-linguistiques, au sein de la centrale générale des syndicats libéraux de Belgique.* Thesis presented for the degree of "Licence". Louvain-la-Neuve. Institut des Sciences Politiques et Sociales. 1975-1976. 147 p.

Lorwin, Val R. "Labor Unions and Political Parties in Belgium". *Industrial and Labor Relations Review,* Vol. 28, No. 2, January 1975. pp. 243-263.

MacIver, R.M. and Page, C.H. *Society: An Introductory Analysis.* New York, 1949. 437 p.

Meisel, John and Lemieux, Vincent. *Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations.* Document of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Ottawa, Information Canada. 1972, 354 p.

Neuville, J. *Le Taux de Syndicalisation en Belgique.* Courier Hebdomadaire du C.R.I.S.P., no. 595. September 3, 1973.

Rochon, Madeleine. *Relations Entre Néerlandophones et Francophones dans un Syndicat Belge - La F.G.T.B.* Thesis presented for the degree of Licence. Louvain-La-Neuve. Institut des Sciences Politiques et Sociales. June-July, 1972. 100 p.

Rowies, Luc. *Les Partis Politiques en Belgique.* Dossiers du C.R.I.S.P. Brussels, January 1975. 26 p.

Schermerhorn, R.A. *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research.* Random House, New York. 1970. 327 p.

Spitaels, G. *Le Mouvement Syndical en Belgique.* Institute of Sociology of the Free University of Brussels. 1967.

Spitaels, G. and Lambert, S. *L'Année Sociale 1967.* Institute of Sociology of the Free University of Brussels, 1968. 350 p.

Verdoodt, Albert. *Relations entre anglophones et francophones dans les syndicats québécois.* International Center for Research on Bilingualism. University of Laval, 1970. 238 p. (Publication B-13).

Williams. C. Brian. "Trade Union Structure and Philosophy: Need for a Reappraisal". *Canadian Labour in Transition.* Miller, Richard and Isbester, Fraser, eds. Prentice Hall, Ontario, 1971, pp. 145-172.

Young, Pauline. *Scientific Social Surveys and Research.* Prentice Hall, New Jersey. 1966, 576 p.